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# THE QUARTERLY

of the

# Oregon Historical Society.

VOLUME VIII.]

MARCH, 1907

[NUMBER 1



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# THE OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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[The QUARTERLY disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.]

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN AGENT.

By T. W. DAVENPORT.

On a very beautiful afternoon in the latter part of September, A. D. 1862, an equestrian alighted from his rather jaded horse, at our gate in the Waldo Hills, and presented me a letter from Wm. H. Rector, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, asking if I would accept the appointment of Special Indian Agent at the Umatilla Agency; and he desired an immediate answer.

My oral reply to the bearer of the dispatch was short and emphatic. "If I am to answer now, I say no; if I can have time to ask my wife if she will accompany me, I may say yes."

"When can you see your wife?" was curtly asked.

"To night," I replied.

"Well, if that is the case, I shall tell Mr. Rector that you can be depended upon, for the women always go. I never knew one to refuse," remarked the bearer of the message, who was none other than the very shrewd, ever-ready, hard-riding messenger of the Indian Superintendency, One-Armed Brown.

My wife was willing to go, as Brown predicted, and I repaired at once to Salem to obtain my appointment and instructions from the Superintendent.

As to the latter, they were very brief and characteristic of Mr. Rector. He said: "I have sent for you because you are possessed of good judgment, and I believe are competent to manage an Indian Agency. I will give you an account of how

things are, up at the Umatilla, and may make some suggestions, but you must be the judge at last, and do as you think best." He began by saying that "the resident agent there, Wm. H. Barnhart, had killed an Indian some months before, under circumstances which did not seem to warrant so extreme a remedy, and the Indians were exceedingly exasperated by it. Immediately after the death of the Indian, who was of princely descent in the Cayuse tribe, Uma-howlish, their war chief, put on his war paint and feathers; others followed his example, and the agent, fearing the loss of his scalp, appealed to the military commandant at Fort Walla Walla for protection, and a detail of cavalry under Lieutenant Capps has been stationed at the agency. Add to this, that the Walla Walla newspapers, in nearly every issue, contain uncontradicted affidavits by Charles Goodenough, charging Agent Barnhart with irregular and peculating practices, and you will see that things at the Umatilla are not as they should be. Of course I have had no opportunity to ascertain the truth of the damaging allegations against the agent there, but from letters I have received from respectable persons residing near the agency, I have thought best to order a change for the present. So I will give you an order to Agent Barnhart, requesting him to turn over to you the property belonging to the agency. Imploring letters are coming to me, from a man by the name of Pinto, who has been living with his large family at the agency for more than a year, and he states that he was induced to move there from the Cowlitz Country, by promises from influential politicians, members of Congress, etc., that he should be appointed teacher of the Indian school at that place. He is as poor as a church mouse, and in fact unable to get away by his own means. Examine his letters as to whether he was really promised anything, and if you think he was and can be of service as a school teacher, employ him; if not, cart him off. Old Doctor Teal, whose family resides at the Umatilla Meadows, some twenty miles below the agency, has been the Indians' physician ever since the agency was established. He is a man of much influence among them and

you will likely conclude that he should be retained. John S. White, superintendent of farming operations, has been there long enough to become well acquainted with the Indians, and can render you valuable service. There is a large and well assorted stock of annuity goods, in boxes and bales, at the agency, and it is getting along towards the time of year when the Indians will need them. There is no record in this office, showing the names and numbers of the individuals composing the three tribes, Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Umatillas, gathered there, and, of course, a census must be taken first, and if you are reasonably expeditious it will be mid-winter before they get their blankets."

Mr. Rector finished as he began, by saying, "I shall give you no written instructions as to the management of the agency and you will consider yourself free to use your own judgment."

It may be well to state that I was at that time wholly unacquainted with the art and science of conducting an Indian agency. I had been led to suppose from my reading, however, that the Government had established the agency system for the double purpose of introducing the aborigines to civilization and whether more or less successful in it, to divert them by such means from the chase and the war path. As to the method of keeping accounts with the Government I knew nothing. To be sure, I had heard that it was by abstracts and vouchers, and I learned from various sources that by means of them an agent upon a salary of \$1,500 a year had been known to accumulate for himself very much more. The question was asked of Horace Greeley, how an agent, upon such a salary, could in four years get forty thousand dollars, to which he answered with grave simplicity, "It is above my arithmetic." Of course, I knew there were imperfections in the system and suspected the ordinary amount of unfaithfulness in officers, but in the main I supposed the good intentions of the General Government were fairly well carried out.

My faith was not built so much upon knowledge of what had been done, as upon the character of the men who had been

foremost in establishing the system in Oregon. And in this connection my mind reverts to that grand, good man, General Joel Palmer, whose rational altruism, exhibited on every proper occasion, left no room for doubt. He and Governor I. I. Stevens negotiated the treaty by which the three tribes, before mentioned, were brought onto the Umatilla Reservation.

At this time was held the first State Fair at the grounds in Salem, and I tarried a few days to attend it. Although it was a week interspersed almost hourly with drenching showers of rain, families from all over the State were encamped upon the grounds, and pioneer sociability, unalloyed, reigned supreme. A eleven years' residence within the State and Territory, accompanied with much rambling, had blessed me with friends and acquaintances, who wished me well, and some gave assisting advice as to how I should manage in the new role of Indian Agent. If any one of the latter neglected to remind me that "an Indian is an Indian and you can't make anything else of him," I do not now recall it.

The repetition of that peculiar phrase struck me as something queer, and I occasionally suggested that there is a difference in Indians, to which they invariably answered, "Yes, but they are all Indians." One old friend, who at that time stood high in the Federal Government, volunteered lengthy instructions, for which I was truly grateful. Not that I considered them as sound in every particular, but for the reason that he was more likely to voice the prevalent knowledge and sentiments of those engaged in Government employ, and therefore familiar with the working of the Indian system. He remarked that I was generally understood to be an ardent believer in the civilizing influence of education upon the inferior races, and that now I would have a good chance to prove to myself that I had been too optimistic. Said he: "The Indian, like the negro, is the product of a long succession of ages, with an environment favorable to barbarism, and of course you do not expect to change him much during the little time you live, and I do not think you had better undertake it. On the outside the appearance is, that the Govern-



ment is trying to civilize the Indians, when in fact there is no such intention. They are put upon reservations, where goods and rations are occasionally doled out to them, for the reason that it is cheaper to do that than to fight them. The agriculture and mechanics supposed to be taught on the agencies is all a pretense. Such things figure largely in the agency reports to the Indian Bureau at Washington, but they are in the main fanciful. The whites work and the Indians look on. The Umatilla Reservation is large enough for a county, and has in great part a fine rich soil, which should tempt anybody to agricultural pursuits. But you will find that the Government has been raising crops for the lazy, blanketed Indians to eat. You will not find the Indian of fiction and philanthropy at the Umatilla, though you may see some of the murderers of an eminent man who tried in vain to teach them Christianity and the white man's pursuits, Dr. Marcus Whitman. He sacrificed his life mainly in their interest and I shall assume there is nothing to show for it. My advice is, not to spend your time experimenting where others, after long trying, have failed. Go and do something for yourself."

The manner of my distinguished friend was earnest and his logic seemed to be good, but they only whet my curiosity to know if there had been any honest, earnest effort to advance the Indian, and if so, if the same means which had raised the white man from a barbarism as intense as that of the Indian, must fail when applied to the latter. I was not altogether unacquainted with Indians and their character, for I had frequently met them while crossing the plains, and during my residence in Oregon and Washington had traded with them, and sometimes depended upon them for food and directions, very important to me in this new country. It may seem strange, but I considered them human beings capable of modification and improvement.

On the morning of the 5th of October, 1862, I left Salem on the north bound stage with as many passengers as could be crowded into it, myself on the seat with the driver. The ground being deeply saturated by the unusually heavy rains,

our team of four strong horses was occasionally incompetent to extricate the coach from the holes wherein it had sunk to the hubs, and the calls of the driver to unload were jovially responded to by the passengers, to whom nothing came amiss.

Oregon City was reached late in the afternoon, and our toilsome stage ride, of hardly forty miles, was ended at a cost of \$7 in gold coin. Thence we avoided the mud road by boarding the little steamboat plying to Portland.

At that time the O. S. N. Co. furnished travelers with very comfortable passage from Portland, by steamboat, to the Cascades of the Columbia, around which there was a portage railroad of six miles; from there another magnificent steamboat ride to The Dalles; thence a stage ride of fifteen miles to Celilo, at the head of the Dalles, where steamboat navigation began again and continued uninterruptedly to Lewiston, on the Snake River. My river journey ended at the mouth of the Umatilla. From there I walked and rode, as I could catch it, up the Umatilla, about forty miles, to the agency, where I arrived without detention or accident on the 10th of October, 1862.

Immediately upon my arrival, my credentials were presented to Mr. Barnhart, whom I had never met, along with a kind of letter of introduction given me by Hon. B. F. Harding, at that time United States Senator from Oregon. I found Mr. B. a very intelligent gentleman, ready and willing to show me around, introduce me to the chiefs and headmen of the tribes, explain existing conditions and relate the history of the agency doings during his residence there. He likely saw that I was green in such business and therefore made several suggestions which he thought would aid me in avoiding trouble with the Indians. As to the employees, he deemed it essential that Dr. Teal should be retained as resident physician, and informed us both of his opinion.

He also recommended the retention of John S. White, the superintendent of farming, on account of his knowledge and influence with the Indians. The interpreter, Antoine Placide, a half-breed Indian, and a man of giant proportions, he char-

acterized as one half breed who could be depended upon to tell the truth, a very strong testimonial and one which, after an acquaintance, I would not diminish.

George Barnhart had been acting as farmer at a salary of \$1,000 a year, but he departed with his brother, thereby making a vacancy to be filled. Although there was no legal provision for a clerk or private secretary to the agent, Mr. B. had one, Matty Davenport, who was mustered on the roll of employees as school teacher at a salary of \$1,000 a year. As there was no actual school there, this method of paying a clerk seemed a little irregular to an outsider, but it was said to be the custom at all the agencies. Mr. B. spoke of it as "a paper fiction," and I thought the term admirable in several points of view. Matty Davenport went away with the retiring agent and there was a vacancy in the office of school teacher, and an end to the paper fictions at the Umatilla.

Before going, Mr. Barnhart remarked to me, that "the place of agent at the Umatilla is worth \$4,000 a year," to which I responded by asking how that could be on a salary of \$1,500. He made no reply but told the sutler, Mr. Flippin, that he "could show me how easy it is to do such things."

There was no difficulty in turning over the Government property, though a very broad margin was left for inaccuracies. Wheat, oats and barley, in the stack, estimated in bushels; several acres of potatoes not dug, but estimated by digging and measuring three rows; and several hundred dollars worth of medicine in the agency drug store, for which I had to take the word of Dr. Teal as to the amount. The list contained an item of five plows, only one of which could be shown, and that was broken in removing from the wagon which brought it from the implement store. It had not been used and the others were said to be on the reservation somewhere. As Mr. B. said, "may be in some fallen tree top."

To the enquiry, whether the Indians had been instructed to return them to the store as soon as they had finished their work, he said, "Yes, but the instruction was not obeyed. Oh, they do not plow, only dig with them a little. Did you ever

see an Indian plow? If not, it would amuse you. He fastens ropes to the plow clevis, and the other ends to the Indian saddles which are tied together with raw hide strings, and the squaws lead the team. The buck tips the plow up onto the nose, and in this way the ground is scratched over. The method of sowing his grain is unique too. He stands in one place and sows a circle, and then moves to another point and sows another circle. They see the white employes doing work in a proper manner but poor 'Lo' refuses to learn.. They are good hunters but poor farmers," said Mr. Barnhart, and I afterwards learned that his description was about correct.

As soon as the receipts were signed, the agent, his brother and the clerk went away on horseback and I was left in command. To fill the vacancy in the office of farmer, I appointed Mr. Dow Montgomery, who had come to the agency on the recommendation of Surveyor General Pengra, and had been at work as field laborer at \$35 a month.

Dr. Teal was solicited to remain, and he consented to do so on one condition, viz: that his wife should be given the position of teacher of the Indian school. The Doctor was requested to wait until the next day for an answer to his proposal, as I had not investigated the case of Mr. Pinto, an applicant of long standing. Mr. Pinto was found to be fully competent, and the victim of those political promises, which everybody ought to know, are never intended to be fulfilled. Besides, his wife, the mother of a large family, was a consumptive invalid requiring the constant care of the older children. Mr. Pinto's case was an irresistible appeal to my sympathies, and he was given the position which Dr. Teal wanted for his wife. Other things being equal, as respects the public service, human necessities are likely to decide every case submitted to *me*.

Mr. Pinto was instructed to have the school room warm by 9 o'clock, five days in the week, and be there ready to teach every one in attendance, and furthermore to talk to the parents and as far as possible stimulate a desire for education.

By the treaty with these three tribes, they were promised two school houses and two teachers, but as there was one



school house, only one teacher could be profitably employed, and so Dr. Teal was informed that his wife could not be accommodated. His salary was \$1,200 a year and he was permitted to do outside practice besides, which made his position a very desirable one. Still he had been led to believe that his presence at the agency was absolutely necessary to the stability of the agent's administration, and with this idea firmly fixed in his mind he went to his home on the meadows, but not until he had, in rather bad humor, informed the influential members of the tribes that I had turned him off.

In his place, Dr. Roland, who had been a day laborer at the agency, was appointed. Mr. Backus Henry, the carpenter, a brother of Dr. Henry of Yamhill County and an intimate friend of President Lincoln, was retained. To all of the employees this message was delivered: "Gentlemen, we are here to work in earnest, to carry into effect the promises made to these people. Whether the Government was right or wrong in supposing it possible or practicable to civilize them, no one will ever know until the proposition has had a fair and vigorous trial. If there is any one of you who is not willing to co-operate with me in this effort, and drop his other avocations to do so, let him make it known now, and surrender the place to which he has been appointed." All were willing to go forward in the new departure.

As the harvest was over, John S. White was granted leave of absence to go to Portland, on his private business. The place of blacksmith being vacant and there being urgent need of one to repair the tools and implements, a requisition was made upon Superintendent Rector, who sent Thomas Weston, a former employee at the Siletz Reservation.

Only one day passed until Mr. Flippin, the sutler, said to me: "You made a mistake in turning off Dr. Teal; the Indians are grumbling and likely you will have to recall him."

Mr. F. spoke the Walla Walla language fluently and was withal influential among the red men, so I requested him to tell them that I did not turn Dr. Teal off; the Doctor turned himself off. Mr. F. suggested that such information would

sound better coming from headquarters, and deeming the hint pertinent I requested the interpreter to call a meeting of the Indians for next day in the afternoon. At the appointed time the council house was full, and they were asked to state their grievance. The chief of the Cayuses, Howlish Wampo, arose and in a very deliberate manner said that Dr. Teal had been their physician for years, that they had great confidence in him, and felt very much hurt when they heard that the new agent had discharged him. As his people were the ones chiefly interested, he thought they should have been consulted before making any change. It did not make much difference to them who was superintendent of farming, or carpenter, but it was a matter of grave concern who was to treat them when they were sick. He remarked with a grim smile that the Doctor appointed by me, while working in the field that summer, was not suspected of knowing anything of medicine, and he wanted to know how I would take it, if some one would turn off my family physician and send an unknown person to treat me when more than at any time in my life I wanted some one in whom I had confidence? Howlish Wampo ended his speech by saying it was the unanimous wish of his people that Dr. Teal should be recalled.

White people who have lost their favorite doctor will judge that the Indian chief had made out a very strong case, and such was my opinion. And lest the reader may think that I have been putting words into his mouth, I must say once for all that no claim is herein made of giving exact language; only the points as abstracted from the uneducated interpreter's rendering is it possible to give, and they of necessity must be in my own style.

As the meeting was called, not to ascertain the wishes of the Indians, but to explain matters to them, Howlish Wampo was taken at his word and no vote called for. His speech showed strongly that he was a reasonable being and I assumed they all were, and so addressed them. They were informed that Dr. Teal was solicited to stay, but required conditions that could not be complied with, unless I was willing to take his

wants as a guide by which to manage the agency. Mr. Pinto had been promised the school teacher's place and had been there a year waiting for the fulfillment, and certainly they would not have me violate the promises made to him by distinguished men at the seat of government. Doctors move from city to city and town to town and white folks get a change of doctors without making any fuss about it. They frequently change from choice, and there is no agreement among them as to which is the best doctor. It is likely fortunate that they do not agree, or they would all want the same doctor. No doubt doctors differ, although they learn from the same books. Some are better surgeons, others are preferred to treat women and children, and each is best for some one disease. As for Dr. Roland, I know nothing of his success in practice, but I do know that he is a better educated physician than Dr. Teal, who is what is called among the whites a home-made doctor.

The interpreter informed me that some of those present said that Dr. Teal had told them I had turned him off. To this I answered: "I have told you the truth, and Dr. Teal will not tell a different story in my presence." The meeting broke up with a changed feeling and no more was heard of their discontent.

The whole of the next week was spent in trying to obtain a knowledge of the present conditions, and with such a purpose in view one would naturally ask to be shown the record evidence of what had been done since the agency was established; the names and numbers of each of the tribes, where located, what assistance had been rendered by the Government and what response to civilizing efforts had been observed in the habits of life of these people; but strange as it may seem there was not a scratch of pen to reward an investigator. There was a printed copy of the treaty made with them, invoices of the annuity goods in store, a copy of the receipt given Mr. Barnhart for the property turned over to me, and a small list of articles from the annuities, issued by him to indigent Indians, but from these no comprehensive judgment could be formed as to what had been the method of treatment

of these wards of the Government or the measure of success. The records, if any, were at Washington, and too far away to be compared with the facts and things to which they relate. So I was compelled to depend upon personal inspection and the memory of employees, most of whom were new to the place or discretely reticent as to the past management.

One patent fact, observable by every one coming to the agency, was the scarcity of Indians. But very few of the three tribes were there, and no one could give any account of the others. They were away without leave. In fact, the reservation was not their abiding place. And when conditions on the reservation were thoroughly understood, no good reason presented itself why they should be there. There was no employment for them, either as hunters or farmers. It was no fit place for civilized or uncivilized men in the condition of poverty common to the Indians. Every one knows how a poor white agriculturist does when he takes up a quarter section of prairie land in the West. He goes to work for somebody who has something, and from his wages buys a team and with the earnings of himself and team procures little by little the tools and implements necessary for successful husbandry. But if there were no one near him with more capital than himself, he would be compelled to emigrate to a community where he could work and earn such things as were essential to start with in the unsettled country. The confederated tribes on the Umatilla were all alike incompetent, as respects tilling the soil. If they had been white men, educated to agricultural pursuits and inured to toil, they could not have succeeded without levying upon the wealth around them. He would have been indeed a very shifty white man who could have gone onto the reservation and sustained himself from the soil through means obtained from the resources of the Indians. Nearly every Indian family had two or three horses and a few were amply supplied, but this was about all their wealth, and they were ponies, hardy and fleet no doubt, but too small for the plow. Howlish Wampo had 800, some of them bred to fair size by crossing with American stock,



and Tin-tin-met-sah, another Cayuse headman, had 3,000 head of ponies.

It is easy to see how these men, by sales of horses, could have started farming operations full handed, but there was more money in horses than in anything they could raise on the farm. While they could sell a pony for forty to one hundred dollars, there was no inducement to raise wheat, especially as two days were required to make the trip to the Walla Walla mill. Even an Indian could see that. In spite of all discouragements a very few Indians had little fields of wheat, which they threshed with sticks and took to the mill aforesaid. Three of them had log houses, and a few of them had set out some apple trees. The two men who were most able to have good houses, barns, stack-yards, and the other accompaniments of permanent settlement, lived in wigwams or tents and partook of the white man's delicacies, raised flour biscuits with store butter, coffee, tea, sugar, etc., while sitting upon the ground after the fashion of their ancestors. People forget, when they sarcastically smile at sight of an Indian garden patch, how recently he was a nomad depending for his subsistence upon hunting and fishing; and if they would only stop and think how many mature white men, with families depending upon them, had been enticed away from home by the fascinations of the chase and become incorrigibly lost to the pursuits in which they had been bred, the smile would take an entirely different expression.

The sensible, humane men who negotiated the treaty were fully aware that those Indians could not in any way maintain themselves upon the Umatilla Reservation, ample as it was, and they, therefore, pledged the United States Government to subsist them the first year, while with Government help and under its supervision houses should be built and farms opened so that they might live in the main by agriculture. The Government, as usual had been dilatory and as usual, too, the means given to its agents had been squandered or appropriated. The treaty specified that a flouring mill and saw mill should be erected at suitable points on the reservation; and

apparently with the purpose of erecting a flouring mill the first agent, a Mr. Abbott, purchased of a military officer the running gear of an overshot mill located below The Dalles, for an immoderate sum, reported to be forty thousand dollars. He transported the same, at extravagant cost, overland to the Umatilla River, and to a site as foolishly selected as the mill had been. Instead of hauling lumber from Walla Walla, as practical men of sense would have done, Government camps were established in the Blue Mountains, eight or ten miles away, and lumber manufactured by the abandoned process of whip-sawing, in this instance from pitchy pine logs. The result was plainly visible in the fall of 1862, and whatever amount was paid for the overshot, or expended for work in the mountains, was a total loss to the Government of every dollar thus invested. And this costly fraud was perpetrated before there was any wheat to be ground.

There were to be expended the first two years, sixty-six thousand dollars, not including the two mills, but any one looking over the premises and taking a bird's-eye view would ask, how? where? Two log houses, a half dozen log huts, an open shed for wagons and plows, about a hundred acres of loamy, river bottom fenced and in cultivation, a set of carpenter's and blacksmith's tools, and farming implements insufficient for an ordinary half section farm, would hardly satisfy his reasonable expectations. For the rest he must enquire at the Indian Department in Washington, where the most incredulous might be satisfied, if vouchers would satisfy him. For the objects declared in the treaty, the money was no doubt injudiciously, if not fraudulently expended, and there was scarcely a beginning to any rational and methodical system of bringing those people into the way of sustaining themselves.

With but few exceptions, the whites employed there had done the work, and the Indians, wrapped in their blankets, had been lazily looking on whenever they chanced to be present. For the most part, they were away, fishing along the Columbia, hunting in the Blue Mountains, digging camas in

Grande Ronde Valley, picking berries along the water courses, or hanging around the towns where they bartered their "ictas" for the white man's goods, or in case of a shortage of their legitimate earnings, engaged in predatory acts very annoying to their white neighbors. And this kind of life, at the time of which I write, and notwithstanding its uncertainties, was certainly romantic enough. Enlightened people with white skins will leave remunerative employment and the most sumptuous apartments where every needful thing is at hand, and with a very meager outfit endure toil and travel in a hot day to enjoy a picnic in shady groves and by cool, purling brooks, and yet they wonder at the Indian families, ponies, papooses, cats and dogs that from early spring to late in the fall enjoy travel and a refreshing camp every day. Or is it supposable that only those of the superior race receive any pleasure from the beauties of Nature? Likely none of the red race has sung in faultless numbers of the "pleasure in the pathless wood or the rapture on the lonely shore," but that he is fully as sensuous is shown by his language and the tenacity with which he clings to his birthright, of mountain and valley, grove and stream. Our pioneer history shows that it is no child's play to fight him out of them and coop him up on a reservation where, at best, he dwindles to extinction from confinement, which should be sufficient evidence as to the pleasurable and healthful excitements of his primitive state.

There are but two ways of keeping Indians upon a tract of country too small or ill fitted to furnish them a living by their ancestral modes; one is by force, and the other by enticement. At the Umatilla neither had been tried. Just enough of the latter had been done to bring them on a visit when other preferable sources of income were not in season. The salaried chiefs, three in number, and their families and dependents remained there most of the time, for they received more favors than could be given to others. This method of running an agency was quite aptly named by Mr. Montgomery "the subsidy plan."

There were also tribal jealousies, which to some extent pre-

vented a willingness among the weaker ones to engage in the work of making a home there. The Cayuses were more numerous and powerful and appropriated the greater part of the choice spots along the river.

To the reader who has got this far in these recollections it is hardly necessary to say that the system which had been followed I intended to reverse; hereafter the Indian must take hold of the plows and the whites will look on, instruct and interest him. With the white man improvement has been obtained by rationally directed effort; and as respects agriculture, to which he is addicted, it must not be supposed that success in it is a settled question. Indeed, it is quite the contrary, for there are very few successful farmers, and those who obtain the best results are the most skillful in the application of knowledge along with their labor. Hence, although there is constant reward for improved methods in the increase of crops, this is not deemed a sufficient stimulus to the exertion of brawn and brain, and societies offer premiums for excellence of product and the exhibition of skill in the performance of farming operations.

The present plow is a very perfect specimen of a long continued evolutionary process, and yet no greenhorn, though he may have seen plowing done all his life, can at first adjust a span of horses to it and do good work. And for his imperfection all due allowance would be made, for the reason, "he is not used to it." Now, the Indian is not used to farming, and looking on will not get him used to it. He must pass through the same ordeal that brought the white man to his present state, a discipline of faculties and powers, the accumulation of knowledge and social efficiency of a civilized trend and type. And those who deny to the Indian capability of improvement in this direction should reflect how sadly they would fail in practicing the arts in which he is an adept. The same reflective faculties, powers of observation and mechanical aptitudes exhibited by the savage in obtaining a living with bows and arrows and spears will perform all the industrial operations practiced by the civilized man.



Likely the true interpretation of the phrase so often repeated, "the Indian is an Indian and you cannot make anything else of him," lies not in his want of ability to become a farmer, but that he prefers hunting and fishing and wandering habits. I rather suspect this to be true of the Indian, for it is true of the white man, who is only civilized by compulsion and relapses to his first estate whenever the pressure is withdrawn. If he could make no easier or better living than by fishing, he would fish; and though plowing is one of the most agreeable of farming operations he prefers the gun to the plow. Running a harvester, mower or threshing machine; plowing, hoeing, drilling or harrowing is work, and to most people drudgery. Hunting, though accompanied by greater physical exhaustion, is sport, and the Indian is not alone in loving it. The probable truth is, that men of all colors do not love work for work's sake, but for what it will bring to them of the necessities, comforts, conveniences and luxuries of this state of existence. That man is a social being, is the supreme fact of human life, but society evolved in conformity to his controlling desires is impossible with no other provisions than the spontaneous production of the earth. In this part of the temperate zone not more than two to the square mile could so subsist, and even at the equator where food is comparatively abundant and clothing almost unnecessary, civilized and progressive society seems to be unattainable.

Looking over the bald pretense of civilization as I found it at the Umatilla, I was more than ever convinced that tuition was the first thing needed and that it should commence with the parents and grown-up children. And what better to be taught than the unavoidable truth, that under existing conditions they could no longer get a living by the methods of their ancestors: the earth could not afford it. Their edible roots, the camas and cous, had been in great degree destroyed by the hogs of white settlers, and the gold miners, roaming the mountains everywhere, had destroyed or frightened away the game. Evidently the time had come when civilization was

compulsory with them as it had been with the white man, and they should know and feel it.

A person coming newly into the office of Indian agent would need no other proof of the general rascality of agents than the governmental regulations to be observed by them in purchasing supplies. All sorts of lets and hindrances to dishonesty have been adopted, publications, contracts, certificates, vouchers, oaths before judicial officers; but they have been of slight avail in preventing frauds. As Judge M. P. Deady once remarked to me, "It is villainy made easy." The department regulations require an agent to advertise in a newspaper, inviting bids, and thus through competition to get goods at a reasonable rate, or in case it is not practicable to resort to such kind of publication, require him to obtain competitive bids by personal presentation. Adopting the latter mode as being best suited to the circumstances, I went among the merchants of Portland, soliciting them to mark the price at which they were willing to furnish the goods, and the first one I met was a well-known Jew by the name of Baum. And this is the way he received me. With a sarcastic grin he said: "Now, Davenport, no more of this d—d nonsense; go on and buy those goods where you intend to buy them, and don't waste any time in humbugging. All of us understand you agents, and this thing is getting old." Receiving about the same compliment from half a dozen others, I abandoned the regulation mode, which had become distasteful through fraud continually perpetrated, and bought such things as I wanted at market rates. Along with the certified contract, I enclosed newspaper clippings showing the state of the market in Portland at the time of making the purchase, and the Indian Department making no objection, I continued it to the end of the term.

As Judge Deady said, it is very easy to conform to the regulations of the department and at the same time practice bare-faced frauds, and while the merchants know well how it is done, they cannot prevent it except by turning informers, which they have no time or inclination to do. If advertising

is had in the newspapers, only those bid who are in the deal, as it is useless for others to do so. The practice of combining against the Government for mutual profit is so common that all agents are regarded in the same unenviable light. I said to one of the older merchants: "It is easy to say that all the agents pilfer in this way, but what do you know about it?" His answer was: "I say all because all that I know about are guilty. The agent at Warm Springs, at the Grande Ronde, at the Umatilla, at the Siletz does so, and I presume that the rest of them do the same. Oh, there is nothing very strange about it."

On my return to the Umatilla, I found that Mr. White had progressed rapidly in taking the census, but upon going over the lists with him we very soon discovered that, with a few exceptions, neither of us could pronounce the names so that the Indians recognized them. At that late date such a result was very annoying, but there was only one remedy; to take it over again with a well defined alphabet. Having learned the phonetic alphabet in 1848, I could write and pronounce any name, however difficult, and with that solvent in my possession, the many-syllabled and otherwise unpronounceable Indian names flowed as easily from the pen as ancestral English, and the work of census taking became the most interesting part of my duty.

Mr. White was somewhat crestfallen at the outcome of his half month's labor but I consoled him with the assurance that the learned secretary of the commission that negotiated the treaty under which we were acting met with no better success. The Indians whose names they signed to the treaty were living, but no human being could find them by pronouncing the written names. The fault is with the alphabet, which is totally inadequate to the function required of it. Lexicographers cannot succeed with it until they have, by certain diacritical marks, made of it a phonetic alphabet, but it is clumsy and complex and wholly unfitted for every-day use. Hence we are all incompetent to accurately represent human speech, with our present alphabet, and though every educated

person knows the fact and that the fault is completely remedied by the phonetic alphabet which can be learned in an hour by a child ten years old, there is scarcely an effort by educators and philanthropists to bring about its adoption.

I had bought some large geographical maps for the school and during the time of taking the census I made the first use of them, in teaching an adult class composed of the principal men of the three tribes, who were invited to my house. A dozen or more lectures were given for the purpose of showing the condition of the country as respects its population since the discovery by Columbus, and how the Indian tribes once so numerous and powerful, one after another had ceased to exist, because of their tenacity in holding onto the habits of savages instead of heartily adopting the industrial knowledge and habits of the white race. Also the location of the powerful tribes upon the Atlantic coast and throughout the West, with an idea of their approximate numbers, and short accounts of their wars with the whites and the interminable wars with each other; the destruction of game upon which they depended for subsistence, and their subsequent removal to get out of the way of civilized man, whose advancing column was steadily and irresistibly westward. I emphasized the conclusion as to themselves: "There is no avoidance, you must become agriculturists and occupy the ground with your improvements or it will be taken away from you."

They were interested auditors and surrounded those maps day after day, engaged in earnest conversation. As a result they applied to me for allotments of land whereon they could work, each for himself. They were informed that permanent allotments I had no authority to make, but they could select small tracts, in severalty, fence them in and have all the proceeds of their labor.

Homely, the hereditary chief of the Walla Walla, by far the most influential one of his tribe, had been supplanted by Pierre, a chief of the white man's choosing, and had consequently absented himself from the reservation, taking the most of the tribe with him. Hearing that a new agent had arrived



at the agency, he and his people returned and now manifested much interest in the new departure. He at once set his adherents to work making rails from the balm trees growing along the Umatilla River, and before spring had enough to fence several acres of prairie land. He came frequently to talk and solicited my advice as to where he should begin his improvements. I suggested the springs at the foot of the Blue Mountains on the immigrant road as being a first-class situation in many respects, and chiefly for the reason that he would have a high price market for everything he could raise right at his door. He saw the point, and I surveyed a square ten-acre lot for him, including the springs, which would afford plenty of water for irrigation.

I may anticipate a little by saying that he fenced and cultivated a part of the lot, raising corn, peas, beans, roots, melons and squashes, etc., and that I ate melons of excellent quality with him on the 4th of July of the same year, 1863. At that time he was very much downcast in spirits, as Agent Barnhart returning to the agency, had issued an order dispossessing him, and taking the location for a stage and trading station. Homely wanted me to intercede in his behalf, but I was powerless. He said it was too good for him—an Indian—and his face bore a dark expression not very difficult of interpretation. As a diversion I said to him, "Go and pick out another place and improve it; there is plenty of fine land within your reservation." Like the great majority of mankind, Homely's enlightenment came too late to make the most out of it.

Several other lots were surveyed, fenced and cultivation commenced, and only a lack of teams and wagons prevented a more general engagement in farming operations by the Indians. Another condition stood in the way of general advancement, and that was the subordination of the common herd to the sway of their chiefs. As a rule nothing new could be undertaken by them without the chief's consent, and that would depend altogether upon the effect he considered it might have upon his own personal interests. The influential

chiefs owned most of the horses, which were their sole exchangeable wealth, and they looked with an evil eye upon the scheme of cutting up the land, allotting it in severalty and thus destroying their pasture.

The social system of the American Indians may be regarded as a modified feudalism, in which the chiefs, coming to their office by dint of personal prowess, take the place of the hereditary landlord, while all others are mere retainers. So in speaking of an ordinary Indian he was distinguished as one of Howlish Wampo's men, or Tin-tin-metsah's, or Homely's, or Winam-snoot's, etc. Even as kind and sympathetic a man as Howlish Wampo became indignant that some of his men contemplated going to work independently. One of his men, observing what an opening there was for them, said that Howlish was a lazy old Indian who did nothing for his people. The former was killed shortly afterward by the fall of a limb or stroke of a club.

Complaints had come to me by those Indians who took their wheat to the Walla Walla mill, that they did not get fair treatment in the exchange of wheat for flour. The grist mill affords many opportunities for a successful exhibition of greed, and no doubt on this account calling a miller a thief long ago passed into a habit among white men, when likely in a great majority of cases of disagreement between the miller and his customers there was no valid foundation for any harsh accusations. The best of wheat loses by cleaning and as no two grists are alike, the net results of exchange must differ. And where such exchanges were conducted by individuals of different races and by the use of different languages, imperfectly understood by each, there was plenty of room for honest disagreement.

Supposing, however, that there might be some discreditable foundation for the complaint of the Indians, I addressed a letter to Mr. Simms, the manager of the Walla Walla mills. His reply, written on the obverse side of my letter, was a lucid explanation of their rate of exchange and contained one sentence at the close which for piquancy is seldom excelled.

I had never met Mr. Simms, but after reading his letter I had a strong desire to make his acquaintance, as he evidently possessed an enquiring mind and a most admirable humor. He died without knowing how often and heartily I laughed over his rather severe strictures of the Indian agency system. The letter and answer are here appended:

Umatilla Agency, October 20, 1862.

Mr. Simms, or the acting miller at Walla Walla.

My Dear Sir: The Indians upon the reservation complain that you do not give them good flour for their wheat, and that you frequently pay them off in shorts or bran. Now, remember that I do not charge you with such transactions except upon the testimony of the red people above mentioned.

The man who is guilty of such things, does not only sin against the moral and statute laws, but is indirectly filching from the pockets of the people, as the Government is obliged to support the victims in times of scarcity and need.

As agent at this reservation, I bespeak for your colored customers a fair turn out and honest deal.

Yours for the right,

T. W. DAVENPORT,  
Special Indian Agent, Oregon.

T. W. Davenport, Esq.,  
Special Indian Agent.

My Dear Sir: I beg leave to say that your complainants lie most rascally when they say that they ever got shorts or bran from this mill in exchange for good wheat, or that they ever got it at all. And as to our not giving them good flour; we give them just such flour as they select themselves, which is generally middlings, in which they get pound for pound, thereby getting forty cents per bushel more than we pay in cash for such wheat as they bring. Our price for red wheat is two dollars per bushel and our price for middlings is four cents per pound. Whenever the Indians prefer the best quality of flour they can have it by paying the price, but we cannot be expected to give them a pound of flour worth eight cents for a pound of wheat worth only three cents and a third per pound.

I admire the interest you manifest for the people under your charge and the horror you express for a departure from the strictest rules of justice and fairness in dealing with them, but it strikes me that a people who have been habitually swindled by wholesale since the foundation of the Government, ought to be slow to complain of the quality of their grist.

Respectfully yours,

I. A. SIMMS.

During my absence at Portland an event occurred which brought the little community of white people at the agency to the verge of consternation, and it happened in this wise:

Two renegade Indians of the Umatilla tribe who, with a dozen or so others, prowled along the Columbia River above and below the mouth of the Umatilla, chanced to cross the reservation on the Walla Walla road to the agency, and observing a returning miner asleep on the ground they envied him his comfortable condition and essayed the trick of slipping off the blankets without waking the sleeper. They removed one without disturbing him, and being full of something stronger than the swats that reamed in Tam O'Shanter's noddle, they bravely but indiscretely pulled the next one, which brought the miner to his feet, when he grappled with and threw the nearest Indian and was about to cut his throat when the other fired a pistol, the ball passing through the fleshy part of the miner's rump.

The two Indians escaped without injury and made their way to the lodge of Howlish Wampo, on the bank of the Umatilla River, near the agency buildings. It was not later than 11 o'clock at night when they arrived, and after warming and resting awhile, they departed no one knew where, but presumably to their haunts on the Columbia. The miner, not finding himself seriously hurt, saddled his horses and traveled to Fort Walla Walla, some twenty-five miles distant, and laid his complaint before Colonel Steinberger, then in command of the fort. The Colonel acted without delay and sent a detachment of cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Capps, to investigate the matter. He ascertained the facts as before related, and rightly judging that the miscreants were inflamed by whiskey obtained back at the crossing of Wild Horse Creek, the boundary of the reservation, where it was surreptitiously sold by the hotel keeper, he and my wife concocted a scheme to catch the reckless fellow.

A soldier was dressed and painted like an Indian, and he, with a veritable *Siwash*, went and bought and drank liquor at the place, from the proprietor. Although most of the troubles



which arise between the two races are result of "fire-water," and that in a great majority of cases the red man is the principal sufferer, he is seldom treacherous to the rascally white man who supplies it. Having obtained the testimony of the mock Indian, Lieutenant Capps, on his return to the fort, raided the premises of the white outlaw and destroyed everything pertaining to the traffic. The man himself soon after absconded.

When the Lieutenant first arrived at the agency he summoned the Indians in council to ascertain the whereabouts of the criminals. They were not at the agency, and no one except Howlish Wampo and his family had seen them. They came in the night and departed in the night, and although they were known to be of the rovers along the Columbia and that their names were Machkus and Chuhkliyah, there was not much evidence to connect them with the assault upon the sleeping miner who did not know one Indian from another then. As they were seen to enter Howlish Wampo's lodge and were not seen to leave, the Lieutenant concluded to hold that Indian chief responsible for the renegades, and thereupon took him in irons to the fort. The Indians and whites looked on in utter amazement at such an absurd and really dangerous proceeding.

Some of the Cayuses put on their war paint and feathers, and Mr. Flippin, the sutler, was fearful that a massacre was impending. My wife was the most discreet and courageous one of the number and instructed the interpreter to assure the Indians that no harm would come to Howlish Wampo and that as soon as I returned he would be released and every danger removed. For fear that some of the members of the chief's family might be excited to frenzy, the chiefs of the Walla Walla put a strong guard around her house and maintained it until my return. She also sent a messenger to the fort to ascertain what the Commandant had decided with reference to the Cayuse chief, and received word that he was sentenced to be hanged the Friday following; a most summary proceed-

ing, even if he had been proven guilty of shielding the perpetrators of the crime.

To hasten matters she sent the carriage to the Umatilla landing, and when the steamboat touched the wharf I was surprised to see Mr. L. D. Montgomery, the agency farmer, seated in the carriage and ready to convey me home. As I had been detained one day at The Dalles, he had been waiting as long and brought the only account of the happenings I have just described. There was no telegraphic connection between the Umatilla and down the river towns in those days, and I had been pursuing the even tenor of my way in blissful ignorance of the distressful things taking place at the agency. This was Wednesday, and in order to reach Walla Walla the next day, we must get home that night, which we did about 11 o'clock. The Indians had horsemen on the road and were, therefore apprised of my coming, and waiting at my house to hear what I had to say to them. I first enquired if they had learned anything new as to the Indians who committed the outrage, but they had not, and the circumstances were so vague and disconnected that no white man could be convicted upon such evidence. Howlish Wampo, however, had no knowledge that a crime had been committed. My advice was to go to their homes and not to be at all anxious, for there was really nothing in it. Early the next morning I set out alone for the fort, and though the wintry air was crisp enough to make one's ears tingle, the drive was exhilarating and pleasant. Just before sunset I stopped at the west gate of the fort and there beheld a scene which awakened in me sympathies I was scarcely conscious of having. I had often read of the incarceration of the victims of injustice, and how their friends and relatives had endured toil, privations, sickness and even death to rescue them, but reading is one thing, while witnessing such devotion is quite different.

The fort is situated on a treeless plain, the soil of which is an alkaline dust mixed with gravel and sparsely set with sage and greasewood. At this time a hoar frost made it especially uncomfortable for campers, even though well furnished with

tent and blankets; but here, in close proximity to the prison, an Indian pony was fastened by a hair rope to a sage bush, an Indian, with a blanket drawn around him, was crouching over a very meagre brush fire and no sign of bed, cooking utensil or food to sustain him through the long, cold and cheerless night. An Indian, better than a white man, knows how to pick out the best camping place a country affords, for in this he is experienced, and so I knew instantly that something very unusual and pressing fastened that Indian to such an undesirable spot. Approaching him to ascertain the cause, I perceived that it was a younger brother of Howlish Wampo. No further explanation was needed; the fires of affection kept him warm and furthermore sent a thrill through me that waked up a very decided resolution. He had been there as much as possible ever since his brother's capture, and I could not persuade him to come inside with me and seek more comfortable quarters.

After supper I was introduced to Colonel Steinberger by Captain George B. Currey, an old acquaintance, and the object of my visit stated in diplomatic language. He appointed 10 o'clock the next morning for a hearing. The same evening I visited Wampo in the prison and watched him closely to see what effect the incidents of the last few days had wrought upon him. If he had been an ordinary white man I should have expected to find him fidgety and denunciatory; to accord with the common opinion of Indian character, he should have been stern and stoical. In truth I found him neither. He got up from his seat and walked deliberately to meet me, his bronzed face wearing a pleasant smile, though somewhat mixed with care. He shook my hand slowly, uttering deliberately the monosyllable, *tots, tots, tots*, a Walla Walla word for good, good, good, while the tears stood in his eyes. He was one of the few Indians that could not speak Chinook and I could not speak the Walla Walla tongue, so we had to communicate by signs and an occasional word of those languages we both knew. I pointed at him and asked, "Co-mi-such?"—his language for sick,—and he answered in the negative,

“Watoh.” With the few Chinook words he understood I told him not to worry and bade him good night.

After talking with the Colonel the next morning, I must say that my astonishment was extreme at his declaration of intention to hang the chief on the ground that he should be held responsible for the acts of the buck Indians. But I remarked that the Indians who attacked the miner were not Cayuses. Howlish had no supervision of them; did not even know them except by name. All the time they were at his lodge he did not know that a crime had been committed. And even if there were not any doubts as to his complicity in shielding them, we should recollect that he had been the friend of the whites when his own people were at war with them, just after the Whitman massacre. No presentation of the case seemed to move the Colonel; Howlish Wampo must be hanged for the good of the service.

“Well, Colonel, our personal relations have been pleasant and I have one request to make, and that is, you will give me three days to get my wife and little daughter away from the reservation, as I shall not stay there a minute after the execution of Howlish Wampo. I should like to stay until spring but I cannot remain if my opinions and wishes are to be totally disregarded.”

He started up from his chair and said rather excitedly: “How am I to go back on the report of my Lieutenant?”

“There is no need of humbling your Lieutenant. Is it not a fact that since he made his report much evidence has come to light, of which he could not know? In view of this, it would not be disrespectful to him to grant a rehearing of the case. I can send to the agency and bring such witnesses as you prefer and have an examination as soon as they arrive.”

To this he assented, and said, “Choose such witnesses as are best qualified.” The interpreter, Antoine Placide, Alex. McKay, both half breeds who spoke English fairly well, and some others were suggested. I wrote a letter to my wife, stating the arrangements and gave it to the brother of Howlish Wampo, who immediately mounted his horse to ride forty



miles in the night. I expected the witnesses would arrive at the fort the next evening, but they with several others and the ever dutiful brother were back before sunrise the next morning, the latter having ridden eighty miles in less than twelve hours.

The case was called about 10 o'clock, and the examination, conducted entirely by the Colonel, was concluded in less than half an hour. The innocence of the chief was clear beyond a doubt, and to make the decision complimentary, the Colonel formally handed him over to me. As he was much past the prime of life I suggested that he better stay until morning and ride back with me in the carriage, but he seemed anxious to put as much ground between himself and the prison as possible, and before 9 o'clock that night they were all back at the agency again, the brother having ridden 120 miles in less than twenty-four hours.

In the course of my nine months' stay there I had an excellent opportunity to study the man Howlish Wampo, and I am satisfied that he was considerably more than an ordinary specimen of his race. After his release he visited me often and spent much time at my house, conversing with me through the interpreter or, in the absence of the latter, he strove with the few words of English, Chinook and Walla Walla we both understood to communicate his most important thought. He was of medium stature, thick set, muscular, and when young no doubt very strong and enduring. He had an intellectual head and face, a penetrating but kindly eye, and a voice both deep and musical. Mr. Flippin, who spoke the Walla Walla language fluently, said that Howlish Wampo was the only Indian orator he ever knew. A United States military officer had given him a fine, blue broadcloth cloak, which he wore on all important occasions, and with all the dignity and grace of a Roman senator. He did not seem to be conscious of it either. The speech he made to the troops that came to protect Agent Barnhart was pronounced by Mr. Flippin the most impressive one to which he ever listened. The circumstances were promotive of deep feeling and as the murdered man was

a relative of Howlish Wampo, his rather lethargic nature was aroused into effective action. Mr. Flippin quoted passages from it, which seemed to confirm his high opinion.

The speaker arose with much solemnity and for a few moments silently surveyed the assemblage. Then, throwing back his cloak and raising his right hand deprecatingly, he began: "I see the soldiers have come among us." Pointing with his index finger at them, he asked with much emphasis, "What have you come for? Have you come to protect anybody? If you have, we need your protection. Have you come to punish anybody? If you have there is the man (pointing to Barnhart), there is blood upon his hands."

Mr. Flippin was in the habit of rehearsing the speech in the Walla Walla language and imitating the manner of the untaught orator. I obtained his translation of it into English and kept it for many years, but the wooden box in which I placed my records was not proof against the curiosity of children, who left them exposed to the mice and rats that soon destroyed them. The quotation above given is exact and I think myself competent to reproduce the whole speech with but little variation. It was so superb all through that my doubts were frequently expressed as to its genuineness, but the narrator was willing to swear to the veracity of his report.

A ride in an easy carriage drawn by a sprightly team of fine horses is rather inspiring at almost any time, but over such a country as greets the eye from Walla Walla to the agency buildings on the Umatilla River, and at this time of year, when the still air of December is tempered by an unclouded sun, one's feelings stop little short of ecstasy. Much of this delight was no doubt due to the vast and magnificently outlined scenery. On the left rose the colossal front of the Blue Mountains, rendered more grand and somber by the crown of evergreen forest which seemed, like fabled hosts of old, to frown down upon the unprotected valley. Away to the northwest stretched the undulating prairie to the Columbia River, and beyond, terminating the hazy distance, rose the dim and shadowy outline of the higher Cascade range, with its glitter-

ing snow peaks full in view. The beauty and grandeur of the scenery was some recompense for the tremendous decline in my previous high estimation of the military arm of the Republic.

To an American boy, when the army is mentioned, come memories of Bunker Hill, Lexington, Valley Forge, Yorktown and the sublime virtues of the revolutionary patriots. Nothing sordid or mean mars his patriotic fervor. To be sure, he may have read about some bickerings among aspiring under-officers in the Continental Army, but they were so overshadowed by Arnold's treachery, so lost to sight by reason of the general loyalty and the matchless career of the Father of His Country that he fails to consider such trifles as incident to human nature. At least, such had been my mental condition until my visit to the fort, when I became disagreeably conscious, in the short space of two days, that the selfish in human nature did not depart when American citizens joined the army. Intrigue and jealousy resulting from favoritism were very noticeable. At first I could not understand why an apparently intelligent man like Colonel Steinberger should propose so irrational a scheme as ordaining capital punishment upon a ward of the Government, against whom no felony had been charged, much less proved; for certainly it was no crime to allow two unknown persons to come into one's house and depart without hindrance. I was amazed at the determination and asked Captain Harding what he thought of the matter. His reply was so sententious and striking that I shall never forget it. "Oh! he wants to kill an Indian; he has never killed one." But I learned afterwards that the Colonel was not that kind of man. As the boys now say, "he was merely standing in" with his pet Lieutenant, whom he wished not to see humiliated by a bootless foray in search of the miscreants who robbed and shot the miner. I had small opportunity to study the Colonel, but had no thought that he was a vicious person; rather that he lacked a judicial mind. The officers under him, so far as I heard, said he had the rare faculty of keeping the spirit of the troops up to the military standard. As this was a favorite saying of his admirers and repeated by

those who could not be thus counted, I infer it is susceptible of a double interpretation.

He charged me, as we parted, to apprehend and deliver to him the Indians guilty of the crime. So, immediately upon my arrival home, the interpreter, with Alex McKay, a half breed, and some four full-blood Indians of the Umatilla and Walla Walla tribes were despatched on the hunt. Passing southwest to the Too-too-willa, where several families of Indians resided; thence to the Columbia, which they crossed, swimming their horses; thence up the river to an Indian village of "renegades," where they found them and set out for the agency, travelling that extensive circuit at the rate of sixty miles a day.

As I put the handcuffs upon them I felt a conviction that they would not be tried and proven guilty before execution, and such was really the case. They had no semblance of a trial; their guilt was presumed and that was sufficient, under the peculiar conditions then existing, to warrant an execution. They were taken to the fort, kept in confinement a month, when they escaped, were retaken, and after another month's confinement both were hanged. They made no confession, no denial. In fact they could not understand our language and no interpreter was provided for them, as any one knows. The case in a nutshell reads something like this. The miner was slightly wounded by a pistol bullet which if rightly aimed might have killed him. Whoever it was, intended to steal his blankets, but did not succeed. In the night time he could not be sure that his assailants were Indians; he thought so, and so reported to the military authorities at Walla Walla. Two Indians came from that direction and when first observed were fifteen miles from the scene of the disaster. That was all. A white man would not have been held upon such evidence, but they were Indians and not in good standing with the more aristocratic agency Indians. Besides, it was war times, when enlightened white men were shot by the thousand. Of course, Matchkus and Tchukliyah were as nothing while they sang



their death song upon the scaffold. I wonder if they have been taken account of, anywhere by anybody?

I left the Umatilla Agency at the end of the second quarter of the year 1863, and of course knew nothing personally of the trial and execution of the two Indians delivered to Colonel Steinberger in the winter. So I had to depend upon the recollections of soldiers stationed at the fort for what has been written concerning them. I talked with Lieutenant Seth R. Hammer, Captain John T. Apperson and several privates, but as their memories did not reach to particulars, I wrote a letter to Colonel Geo. B. Currey August the 25th, 1898, and received the following reply:

La Grande, October 1, 1898.

T. W. Davenport, Esq.,  
Salem, Oregon.

Dear Sir: Responsive to yours of August 25, directed to me at Grants Pass and forwarded to me at this place, where it arrived this morning, I will say that you and Lieutenant Hammer are both right. As a matter of fact, there was a slight showing as to a trial; and as a matter of law and justice, there was no trial. Colonel Steinberger, by his order, created a commission to try the case and detailed Col. R. F. Maury, Capt. E. J. Harding and myself to constitute the commission. We met one morning and had a kind of trial. I first raised the point that we had no legal right to act under the order of Colonel Steinberger, for the reason that the civil law was operative in that section and the courts were open for all such purposes. But the other members overruled me. The prisoner made a statement which left an impression on my mind that he was so drunk he vaguely remembered what actually took place. I do not recollect that any other than the accusing witness was before the commission. I distinctly remember that I felt, the testimony showed, no high crime had been committed. The commission talked very little about the case, when Captain Harding spoke very gruffly, "Damn the Indians, hang them." Colonel Maury acquiesced, the verdict was so rendered and recorded and the hanging took place. I felt then and so feel now, that the hanging was unlawful and unnecessary and that the pretended trial was the veriest sham. The day of the execution, I left the garrison, not being willing to witness what I then regarded a murder. I expected Colonel Steinberger would arrest me for absence without leave, but he did not.

Very respectfully,

GEO. B. CURREY.

Not deeming his answer sufficiently explicit, I wrote again on the 4th of the month, to which he responded on the 7th as follows:

La Grande, Oregon, October 7, 1898.

T. W. Davenport,  
Salem, Oregon.

Dear Friend: Responsive to yours of the 4th inst., I will say that my memory presents only fragments of the transaction about which you enquire. I can recall but one Indian, a light built, slim armed, bony fingered young fellow, whose name I do not recall.

Of the incident of his escape, or of the escape of any Indians from the guard, I have not the slightest recollection. Neither do I recall who acted as interpreter, but presume there was one. I recollect very clearly that the Indian made a talk, narrating "the scrap," and that I objected to his making any statement until informed that he was not required to incriminate himself. This was overruled and the quizzing went on. I made several ineffectual attempts to confine the examination to something like ordinary lines in courts, but the whole proceeding was farcical. It may seem strange that I remembered so little, but the fact is, I was trying to know just as little as possible of what took place in the garrison.

Steinberger was running things with a high hand, and the Oregon cavalry officers were afraid of him. He had already browbeaten Colonel Cornelius out of the service and he was after my scalp. The guard house was full of soldiers, sometimes of citizens and often of Indians. I made one effort to arrest the outrages but was reported for dismissal for insubordination. With the exception of Dr. Watkins, I had no man at the garrison to stand by me. I had to play a lone hand and in playing it I had to shut my eyes and shun knowing many things. I never went to the post, or regimental headquarters except on official business. Many of the officers seemed to shun my company for fear of compromising their standing with the ruling potentate. Thus isolated, I knew very little of what was going on outside of my own duties and did not want to know. Captain Apperson or Lieutenant Kapus will doubtless be able to assist you, as Kapus was Steinberger's Adjutant and Apperson had nothing to hinder him from knowing what was going on.

Very respectfully,

GEO. B. CURREY.

P. S.—And not pertinent to your enquiry, I will say that as a sequence of my controversy at Walla Walla, I had the pleasure of causing Colonel Steinberger's muster out of the service, summarily, and I relieved him of the command of Fort Walla Walla. Later on I relieved Colonel Maury of the command of the district and in a few days

became commander of the Department of the Columbia. I make this note that you may form some idea of the ordeal I was going through when the incident occurred about which you were desirous of knowing some minor details.

G. B. C.

Learning that the Hon. L. T. Barin, of Portland, was a soldier at the fort in that period, I consulted him personally and learned particularly as to the execution. He was Captain of the Guard that took the Indians to the scaffold and surrounded it until the drop fell. He said that while the smaller Indian was singing a low-toned, mournfully monotonous death song the taller one made a speech in which he denied committing any crime which would confine a white man, and demanded that he be set at liberty. We had a lengthy conversation, in which he said that the soldiers at the fort understood the case thoroughly and the unanimous expression was that the execution was unlawful, unnecessary and without any shadow of excuse.

Almost every day something occurred to show the predatory instincts of human beings and how the presence of an inferior order of civilization, like an Indian reservation, contributes to acts of outlawry. Bad white men and bad Indians, the lower specimens of both races, provoke a continual disturbance, and race prejudice, inflamed by the memory of past grievances, tends to bring on a general conflict. Such is the philosophy that explains the predisposing phases of our Indian wars.

Although the reservation system of managing the Indians has been quite generally condemned by the American people, I am of the opinion that for us it was a necessity. They claimed the land upon which they lived and roamed, and the claim was certainly good if possession gives any right. It was as good as ours, and hence, the only rational and just way to get peaceable possession was to treat with them for such lands as were needed for settlement and cultivation. Joint occupancy by peoples so different in language, religion, habits of life and social tendency could mean nothing less than continual warfare. The mistake of the Government was not in admitting the title of the Indian to the country occupied by them, but in

not doing enough in the line of civilizing agencies. With but few exceptions the agents of the Government were faithless as to the success of the project, even when they could spare the time from schemes for their own enrichment. They did not enter the work with any heart and acting upon the maxim that it is cheaper to feed than to fight Indians, of course, nothing could come of it. Suppose, on the other hand, that as many incentives to exertion had been given them as the white man enjoys; practical tuition, prizes for skill and excellence in agricultural methods, industrial fairs, etc.; who can doubt that the red man, too, would have become a successful agriculturist and stock raiser? But, cooped up on a tract of country not large enough to afford them a living by their ancestral modes, waiting upon the promises of the Government, which were often delayed and never entirely fulfilled, partly fed, partly clothed, and always in doubt as to the spirit and meaning of the whole business, what else could they be except vagabonds or social derelicts, judged in either the savage or civilized sense?

The boundary of the reservation, from the head of Wild Horse Creek, a straight line along the crest of the Blue Mountains to an uncertain place known as Lee's Encampment, was in continual dispute; also the northwestern boundary, a straight line from the mouth of McKay Creek to the mouth of Wild Horse Creek, was in doubt, for the reason that the latter creek had several mouths, and landless white men, choosing a mouth to suit themselves, were pushing their improvements over onto the Indian's ground, as he thought. All such encroachments festered in his flesh, for it was in the memory of every Indian that it was the white man's coming which reduced him to his present narrow quarters, and an every-day experience that the white man's stock pastured on his unfenced grounds. Complaints were made nearly every day and it was a very difficult matter to explain to them the inevitableness of such conditions, and thus allay their irritable feelings. In fact, it could not be done entirely, and human nature is prone to retaliation, or as the slang goes, "to get even."



A main traveled road passed through the reservation from the Umatilla landing on the Columbia River, over the Blue Mountains to the Grande Ronde Valley—the Old Immigrant Road. There was much travel upon it in the years when the Powder River and the former valley were being settled and the gold mines worked, and as there were no taverns on the road, people passing that way were compelled to camp and turn their teams upon the uncultivated grass lands of the reservation. This afforded an excellent opportunity for reckless Indians to secrete the animals and return them for a finder's reward. To what extent this game was practiced could not be known, for in most instances the Indians were ignorantly regarded as benefactors working for fair wages, and no complaint was therefore carried to the agent. Only one instance of the kind came to my knowledge during the nine months of my agency. Yellow Hawk, a headman of the Cayuse tribe, was privy to secreting a span of horses turned out to graze by a teamster travelling to the Grande Ronde Valley. As usual, after a few hours' unsuccessful search, a reward of \$5 was offered by the owner to the first Indian he met, a confederate waiting to be seen, and who galloped away, ostensibly to search for the missing animals, but really to get them from the thicket on the bank of the river wherein he had placed them. Two white men, riding that way, saw the horses tied within the copse and wondered as to the cause of it, until they saw the Indian leading them on the road, the way they were travelling. Soon meeting the owner, they apprized him of the facts, at which, very naturally, he became enraged and, as usual, threatened the whole Indian population. The Indian came up with the horses and demanded the reward before delivery. The angry man refused compliance, and all parties came before me for a decision. There was no proof that the Indian had driven the horses away from where the owner had turned them loose, but there was no doubt that he had concealed them to obtain a reward. Hence there was no difficulty or delay in restoring the animals free of cost to the owner. To placate his wrath and mete out some sort of re-

straining punishment upon the transgressors was more of an undertaking.

While it is the habit of white men to denounce Indians generally, and suffer the war spirit to rise upon every fresh occasion of an irritating nature, I have found from experience that only a few of them are implacable when they have the whole truth laid fairly before them. To judge the Indian according to his deserts, his grievances must be contemplated also, but white men, as the result of education and selfish impulse, are hardly ever in the mood for weighing them. Only a little while before the occurrence above narrated, some bad white men, returning from the "mines," had driven off forty horses belonging to the Cayuse Indians, on the road towards Lewiston. To retake them by force meant open war; to get them by legal process was slow, doubtful and expensive; so the Indians, without informing me, followed unobserved and recaptured their property during the night while the thieves were sleeping.

One of the most exasperating incidents occurred in November, 1862. A farmer Indian of the Walla Walla tribe, whose name I do not recall, went to the Walla Walla flouring mill with a wagon load of wheat to exchange for his winter supply of flour, and while his horses were feeding from his wagon a gambler issued from a nearby saloon, took one of the horses, and leading it into a livery stable instructed the keeper to "let no one have it without an order from me." And this outrage was perpetrated in broad daylight, before several white persons and in spite of the earnest protest of the angry but discreet owner, who, thus deprived of half his team, bestrode his remaining horse and returned to the agency. I reported the case to the United States District Attorney, a Mr. McGilvrey stationed at Walla Walla, who instructed me to bring two white witnesses and the Indian could obtain his horse. Both Mr. Flippin and Dr. Roland had positive knowledge as to the ownership of the horse, but neither was willing to become a witness against the gambler, so much at that time were people under the sway of the desperadoes of the gambling

dens of that young and growing city. The gambler laid no legal claim to the horse; he took him, he said, "because he had use for him and the d—d Indians had no right to horses anyway." The sutler bought much of his supplies at Walla Walla, and he asserted that rather than become a mark for the gamblers he would buy the Indian another horse, and it was done, Mr. Flippin contributing mostly towards the purchase. Such facts as these opened the eyes and soothed the feelings of the irate traveler who was in fact a considerate and conservative fellow citizen, but, like nearly all of American birth and education, fully of the opinion that there are no good Indians except dead Indians, and that in every case of conflict between the races the red man is the aggressor.

Another incident, occurring in the spring of 1863, was so remarkable in several points of view that I here relate it. Two merchants of Auburn, a brisk mining town in Baker County, stopped at the sutler's store on their way home from Portland, where they had been purchasing goods, when an Indian by the name of Yuck-a-lux, having observed the horsemen a quarter of a mile away, came running to the store and claimed one of the horses as his property. Notice of the claim was at once given to me by the interpreter, and I sent a request to the possessor of the horse to call at the agent's office for a conference. He came mounted to my door, and in the presence of the employes and several Indians heard what I had to say concerning the Indian's claim. He showed much irritation at being detained, as his business at home was urgent, and when informed that upon the reservation an Indian's testimony is as good as a white man's, he wanted to know if I intended to rob him of his horse on the word of a d—d Indian. "Oh, no! you shall not be dispossessed on the evidence of an Indian; probably forty can swear that the horse you are riding is the property of this red man Yuck-a-lux." With increasing anger he said: "I suppose all the Indians would like to get my horse and be willing to swear for it." I replied that the horse should not be taken from him until the proof was satisfactory, which allayed his feelings somewhat. He stated that

five days before he bought the horse at a livery stable in The Dalles, where he had seen him on his way down ten days previously, and he had no doubt as to the livery man's title. In answer to this I called the sutler to tell what he knew of the matter. After inspecting the horse carefully, Mr. Flippin said he had known the horse for more than two years, had ridden him several times, and until recently he had been in the possession of Yuck-a-lux. That some three or four weeks ago the latter came to the store and reported that his brown horse could not be found on the range where he was foaled and raised and probably he had been stolen. He knew that Yuck-a-lux had hunted for the horse several days since, a very idiotic proceeding if the horse had been sold with his knowledge and consent. Dr. Roland and the superintendent of farming testified similarly. The merchant made no objection to the proof but was far from being pleased.

After a moment's silence he said, "Ask the d—d Indian if he will let me have the horse to ride home."

I replied, "Here is the interpreter at your service, ask him yourself; and as a matter of policy let me suggest that you leave out the word 'd—d' ". All eyes were turned upon Yuck-a-lux as the interpreter put the question, and after what had passed no one expected the request would be granted, and consequently listened for the discreet answer "way-toh," no. What he did answer was a complete surprise to all of us, and to the merchant a mild rebuke which he would never forget and never recall without being impressed with the personality of an Indian who was both humane and sagacious.

Yuck-a-lux, after a short pause, during which he seemed to be engaged in self communion, very deliberately answered, "No, but I will let him have another one."

Mr. Flippin was so much elated with the answer that he cried out, "Bully for Yuck-a-lux," a phrase used often thereafter as a morning salutation.

"How long will it take to bring the other horse?" asked the merchant.

"Half an hour," responded the Indian.



“Bring him,” said the merchant.

It being noon, I invited the stranger to dine with me, and during the time regaled him with incidents and personal experience, since taking charge of the reservation, to all of which he listened with marked interest. Evidently his sympathy was enlisted in my work of trying to establish justice between the habitually hostile races of human beings, and in two weeks, the first opportunity, the borrowed horse was returned without injury. I have not seen or heard of the merchant since and regret that I have lost his name.

From the last two incidents we can readily see how easy it is to incite race conflicts and how difficult to preserve the peace between those who are taught from birth to undervalue and hate each other.

## A SOLDIER OF THE OREGON FRONTIER.

By WILL J. TRIMBLE.

(The author of this article is not related to the subject. Because of bearing the same name their mail became mixed, while the former was stopping near the home of the latter, and friendship ensued.)

Joel Graham Trimble, a retired Major of the United States Army, lives at Berkeley, California. He may well be called a soldier of Old Oregon, because, save only the interruption of the Civil War, for thirty years he was a frontier soldier in Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

Major Trimble is of medium height, compact in build, white-haired and white-bearded, clear of eye, pleasant in speech, genial and modest in manner. Despite his age he is still erect and alert. Somewhat of the agility of the seasoned cavalryman still characterizes his movements. Veteran instincts survive also in his love for his good horse, which it is his delight to care for personally. He still treasures his old saddle, which in these days of his honorable repose brings back vividly the long rides and the hard charges of the Old Oregon days. The land for which he fought is very dear to him and its later development a matter of fatherly pride. Keen, also, is his interest in its history. Very willingly, therefore, he gave the writer the facts on which the following sketch is based.

The life story of Major Trimble commences back on the old Atlantic shore at Philadelphia in 1832. Soon after his birth the family moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. When the lad was seventeen he entered Kenyon College. Hardly had he done so, however, when there came the tidings of gold in California. Having secured his father's consent, he left college and started with four companions for California. At St. Joe, however, the cholera summoned two of the party to shores other than those of the Pacific, and two others turned back. Not so young Trimble. Though now out of money, he had become fascinated with Western life. So he tramped sixty weary miles to Fort

Leavenworth and secured work as herder with the First Rifle Regiment, which was then just starting for Oregon. The command arrived in Oregon City in November, 1849.

Soon after the arrival Trimble hired an Indian and made a canoe trip to the mouth of the Columbia. In the spring of 1851, again as civil employee, he joined the command of Major Phil. Kearney, which was bound for California. On the way this command participated in the first Rogue River War. In trying to rescue a wounded soldier from a ravine, young Trimble received a troublesome wound in the hand. At about the same time gallant Captain Stuart was killed. Trimble still recalls the details of his death and burial.

Such experiences, however, did not deter him from enlisting so soon as he became of age. This he did at Fort Tejon, California, joining the First U. S. Dragoons. Ordered north, he arrived on the Columbia in time to assist in the rescue at the Cascades. His next service was to help in establishing the cantonment at Walla Walla. He participated with conspicuous gallantry in both the Steptoe and the Wright expeditions. When his time expired, he rode the Pony Express until the breaking out of the Civil War. Then he re-enlisted in the Second Dragoons.

Back to the Atlantic he went. At Williamsburg was his first fight. Very different from fighting Indians on the bunch-grass hills of the Palouse was that stern facing of the men of his own race on the gray Peninsula. At Malvern Hill he was wounded, but the splendid vigor bred of Western life told for speedy recovery. From that time onward clear to Appomatox in every great battle of the Army of the Potomac he had his part. At Gettysburg he was again wounded, and again cure came so quickly that he was soon clattering after Sheridan down the Shenandoah. At Cedar Creek he was personally thanked by General Sheridan for daring service. The end at Appomatox brought little lull to Trimble, for he was soon hurrying to Texas as part of that stern hint which halted French aggression in Mexico. Then, after a few months spent

in recruiting service, he was ordered back to Old Oregon, the land which he loved.

Here soon arose the unfortunate Modoc War. By this time Trimble was a veteran in all sorts of fighting, being especially adept in Indian craft. His account of the capture of the Indian leader, Captain Jack, seems of special interest. He narrates that, while operating under ranking Captain Perry, he separated with his command from the latter and took an independent course. He had with him two Warm Springs Indians, who were expert trailers. After a few hours these struck the trail of three or four Indians. This trail was followed rapidly. After some time a queer Indian dwarf appeared on a rock ahead, making signs of friendship. This was Job, who was closely attached to Jack. After some parleying, Jack himself appeared and surrendered. The writer is acquainted with a certain scout who also claims to have captured Jack. But his account cannot be said to be unimpeachable, while that of Trimble is circumstantial and is confirmed in general by Bancroft.

After the Modoc War, Trimble held commands at Camps Warner and Harney in Southeastern Oregon. The comparative quiet of these years was roughly ended by the Nez Perces outbreak. Hard service then. A forced march to Mt. Idaho, a bloody repulse in White-bird Canon, a perilous, but successful, dash for the rescue of the besieged miners up the Salmon were followed by the chase after Joseph across the Salmon, the swift doubling back to counter Joseph's strategy and the battle of the Clearwater. Speaking of the Nez Perces charge at the latter point, the Major says, "No more daring feat of prowess was performed by skirmishers at any period of the Civil War." In the pursuit of Joseph eastward Major Trimble did not take part, being ordered to Spokane with his troop to furnish the cavalry contingent for General Wheaton. This was his last campaign. A few years later he was retired.

It is in suggestive sidelights, such as the above comment on the Nez Perces charge or in familiar description of some noteworthy person, more, perhaps, than in connected narrative,



that the Major's reminiscences are valuable. For example, he describes General Wool as "a small, neat man with violet-colored eyes. These I noticed above all the glitter of his uniform or that of his staff. They were very sharp, like a bald eagle's." Again, in commenting on the poor equipment of the Steptoe expedition, he pays his respects to the "old, single-barreled pistol, which I have often seen used as a policeman's club in the hands of a sturdy Irish corporal, but never as a weapon in war."

The defeat of the Steptoe forces, indeed, was due in no small measure to the inferiority of the soldiers' arms to those of the Indians. Most of the soldiers were armed with the short, wide-mouthed musketoon, which carried a ball and three shot. It was of no account at over fifty yards. The rest had the old-fashioned yager rifle, which carried well, but which could be loaded by a man on horseback only with great difficulty. The worthless pistol and a worse than worthless sabre completed the equipment. The Indians, on their part, were armed with effective Hudson Bay rifles. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Custer's men likewise did not have as good arms as their opponents. In most Indian battles, however, the advantage in this respect has been with the whites. In the encounters with the Indians which the Wright forces had only a few months after the Steptoe affair, the Indians, who were exultingly expecting to find the troops at as great a disadvantage as before, were dismayed to find their comrades falling under the fire from the new minnie rifles, while their own bullets fell short. Indian defeats have been due in no small degree to ingenious mechanics fashioning in peaceful shops new devices for destruction. The conquests of civilized man over his barbaric foes have been the result, indeed not so much of the superior bravery or skill of individuals as of the co-operating energies of organized society exerted against the fitful and in part isolated struggles of individualism. In the Steptoe affair, however, as I have said, the representatives of higher civilization fought at a disadvantage and a number of brave men fell.

Of these the highest in rank was Capt. O. H. P. Taylor. His initials stood for Oliver Hazard Perry. He was thus named because of relationship on his mother's side to the naval hero. Captain Taylor was a Kentuckian by birth and a graduate of West Point. He is described by Major Trimble as a small man and very erect. He was exacting in discipline and rather hot-tempered, yet he was much loved and respected. An especially sad feature of his death was that he left at Walla Walla a wife and two children. They had come out the year before and had faced many perils in order to be with the husband and father in the far frontier fort.

Lieutenant Gaston, who was killed in the same fight, was an unmarried man, only twenty-four years of age. He had graduated the year before from West Point. He was a "tall, slim, handsome man"—so tall, indeed, that on his arrival at the post he had been promptly nicknamed "Shanghai." Both his name and Taylor's appeared in the roster of West Point graduates who had been killed in Indian wars, which was conspicuous in the government building at the Lewis and Clark Exposition. In dying on the field of battle, Gaston met the death he desired, for a cancerous growth on his neck had troubled him so much that he feared death from disease.

Colonel Steptoe, the Commander, survived the expedition. He, like Taylor and Gaston, was a Southerner, being descended from an old family of Virginia. A Dr. Steptoe is mentioned in the \*Fithian Journal as a prominent member of Virginia society in the years just preceding the Revolution. Whether or no the Colonel was related to the doctor I do not know for certain, but, at any rate, Trimble describes the former as an "elegant man and aristocratic in his ways." He was about five feet ten inches in height, slender in build and dark of complexion, with black mustache and hair. At the time of the expedition he was about forty years of age. He, too, had graduated from West Point and, in addition, had served in the

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\*The Fithian Journal was written by a young man named Fithian, who, on graduation from Princeton College, was employed as tutor in the winter of 1773-74 at Nomini Hall, a large Virginia country-seat.

Mexican War. Colonel Steptoe might have been very successful in fighting Mexicans, but for fighting Indians, in Trimble's opinion, he lacked one essential qualification. That was "craft." Into that word the Major's tone threw a world of meaning. When I asked him what he meant by "craft," he replied: "'Craft' means to know Indians and frontiersmen. You must know how to fight the way the Indians do. You must know signs. You must watch the weather. You must be on your guard all the time. In fact, 'craft' becomes a sort of instinct or second nature." The Major said that on the expedition Colonel Steptoe was in civilian attire and rode along carelessly and confidently, carrying in his hand a small riding whip. Caution and prudence seem not to have been characteristic of Colonel Steptoe.

In contrast with his negligence are the forethought and carefulness of the man who retrieved his disaster. Among all the men who led other men in the struggle between civilization and savagery on the frontier of old Oregon, none was more efficient, none more respected and beloved by those under him than Colonel (later General) George Wright. "He was a genuine soldier and a soldier's friend," Major Trimble enthusiastically declared. As evidence of Wright's carefulness the Major relates that on the expedition the soldiers were required to get up an hour before daylight and stand under arms, to guard against surprise. In order to lessen the area of the camp cavalymen were ordered to tether their horses at half length. Although he was thus earnest and severe in discipline, Colonel Wright was kind to his men and thoughtful for their welfare. Kindliness and benevolence showed in his open, manly face. One trait in him was, however, pre-eminent—his love of justice. As the Major talked quietly of the man who had defeated the Indians and slaughtered their horses and hanged their rascals, and who yet had retained their admiration and respect, he gave the key to his achievement in one brief phrase: "He was very just."

Officers of the frontier army had to manage not only Indians, but often also bad white men. "It was the bad men on

both sides who made the trouble," Major Trimble said. He told me of a somewhat ludicrous meeting which he once had with one of the white outlaws. Trimble was proceeding at the time from Walla Walla to The Dalles, accompanied by a few men. When about half way there in the evening of a raw, wintry day, they saw far down the trail a man approaching. He looked like a black dot on the landscape. When the fellow came near enough to be plainly seen he presented an odd sight. He appeared to have been plucked. What had been a long overcoat had been shorn of its tails, and the pieces were muffled around the feet of the weary plodder. He came right to Trimble (who was in command) and said that he had escaped from prison at The Dalles and that he was so worn out from exposure and fear of the Indians that he wanted to surrender. Trimble recognized him as Jack Hurley, a noted gambler and desperado. He guarded him carefully until he handed him over to the authorities at The Dalles. Hurley was taken later to 'Frisco. As the vessel was entering the Bay he knocked the sheriff overboard with the handcuffs which he wore and made a desperate effort to escape. But in this he failed.

Not only in restraining these dangerous characters was the army of the frontier of worth to advancing civilization, but also in a more material way. It made roads, built bridges and constructed cantonments. In the latter employment it was interesting to notice how the peculiar qualifications of men of different nationalities were utilized. The Irishman dug the trenches and ditches, the German made the garden, and the American swung the axe. Major Trimble says that the frontier army contained many foreigners and that the army life taught them patriotism and American ways. Consequently, when the Civil War broke out, most of the common soldiers formed themselves into Union Clubs and remained true to the Government, while many of the officers, who, in many cases were Southern survivors of the Mexican War, plotted against the Government and tried to seduce the men. That the bulk



of the army of the frontier remained loyal was of the greatest moment to the North.

The private soldiers, likewise, in their service in old Oregon, were generally not out of harmony with the settlers. That there was unfortunate friction between the army and the settlers was due most of all to certain high commanding officers, who understood neither frontiersmen nor Indians—who, indeed, in the Major's phrase, lacked "craft." The latter grew indignant as he told me of the treatment he had seen settlers receive at the hands of one or two officers—how that some settlers had been ruined financially by furnishing supplies to the army, which were paid for only by the promises of the commander; and how others had given daring and unselfish services in times of need and had received no recognition. Major Trimble's years of close contact with settlers gave him sympathy with them. "None but those in actual contact with the settlers," he writes in a recent letter, "can fully appreciate the exposure to their lives of those who planted the germ of civilization in these wild regions and kept it nourished with their blood and tears. The hardships and life of the pioneers of the Pacific Coast are particularly interesting by reason of the great distance traversed by them to gain a home. I have often witnessed the anxiety and risk caused thereby. After completing a campaign to Salt Lake and Camp Floyd in 1859 a detachment of us was started back from Fort Walla Walla in November to assist or rescue some emigrants near the Salmon River Falls of the Snake River. This party of emigrants had endured such extremities by reason of the assaults of the Indians and complete loss of all stock as to be reduced (as we suspected) to cannibalism. However, we brought them away, though overtaken by deep snow."

The reference in the preceding paragraph to the illy adjusted conduct of one or two officers may be mistakenly understood to mean that Major Trimble rates the higher officers of the frontier army low. His criticism, however, applies to very few. "The bulk of the old regular army officers," he asserts, "were gentlemen par excellence, and their many brilliant

deeds are a shining example to those who come after them. They were genteel, economical and courteous, with no ostentation." That qualities such as these are compatible with the rugged life of a frontier soldier is proven, at least to the author's mind, in the person and character of the modest gentleman who has furnished the material for this sketch.

## DOCUMENTS.

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### OCCUPATION OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER.

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#### REPORT<sup>1</sup>

Of the committee, to whom was referred a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 19th of December last, directing an inquiry into the situation of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River; accompanied with a bill to authorize the occupation of the Columbia River, etc.

January 25, 1821.

Read twice, and, with the bill, committed to a committee of the whole House tomorrow.

The Committee to whom was referred the resolution of the 19th of December, 1820, to inquire into the situation of the settlements upon the Pacific Ocean, and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River,

#### REPORT:

That they have carefully examined the subject referred to them, and, from every consideration which they have been able to bestow upon it, believe, from the usage of all nations, previous and subsequent to the discovery of America, the title of the United States to a very large portion of the coast of the Pacific Ocean to be well founded; nor have they been able to ascertain that any other government than Spain has made claim to any part of it, from Cape Horn to the sixtieth degree of North latitude.

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<sup>1</sup> On December 19, 1820, on motion of John Floyd, of Virginia, a committee was appointed to inquire into the situation of the settlements upon the Pacific Ocean, and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River. Mr. Floyd, Mr. Metcalfe, and Mr. Swearingen were appointed the said committee. *Annals of Congress*, Sixteenth Congress, second session, p. 679.

The report of that committee is given in that volume, pp. 946-959. It was the work, no doubt, mainly, if not solely, of John Floyd, and is the pioneer con-

When this continent was first made known to Europe, by the bold and enterprising genius of Christopher Columbus, it seemed for a long time conceded that the Spanish monarchy, which alone could be prevailed upon to listen to his plans and propositions, was most entitled to the benefits resulting from the successful issue of his undertaking. Though Ferdinand and Isabella, who, at that time, filled the throne of that country, did not rest their title upon the tacit consent of other nations, or even upon their armies or fleet, which was, at that period, formidable and well provided; but instructed by the example of the Portuguese, who had obtained a grant for all countries east of the Azores, from pole to pole, they obtained a similar grant from the Roman Pontiff, of all the territories they wished to occupy west of the same point, as the superstition of the times conferred on him a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth. Thus, in virtue of his power, as the vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, did Alexander VI, in 1493, grant to the crown of Spain, in full right, all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had or should discover.

Enormous as the power was, which the Popes then exercised, it was recognized and submitted to by the monarchs of that day, and considered as having vested in Spain a title which they deemed completely valid, and authorized her to extend her discoveries and establish her dominion over a great portion

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gressional document urging the occupation of the Pacific Northwest. It "in its expression and embodiment of the ideas and impulses that were to shape the progress of events," says Professor E. G. Bourne, "bears the same relation to Oregon that Richard Hakluyt's famous 'Discourses on Western Planting' bears to the foundation of the English colonies in America." See "Aspects of Oregon History Before 1840" in the September Quarterly, Volume VI, Number 3, pp. 255-275.

Professor Bourne contends for fuller recognition of Floyd's efforts in awakening the American people to a realization of their interests in the Oregon Country. To him Floyd's work for Oregon "seems immensely more important than Hall J. Kelley's." Floyd was first to apply the name "Oregon" to the Pacific Northwest.

Charles Floyd of the Lewis and Clark party was John Floyd's first cousin, and William Clark was his friend from early youth. At Brown's hotel, his boarding place in the early winter of 1820-21, he met Mr. Ramsey Crooks and Mr. Russell Farnham, ex-members of the Astor party.

This document is the first of a series on the Oregon Question that will be reprinted.



of the new world. The Spanish crown, as well as individuals, the subjects of that power, continued to fit out ships for voyages of discovery, and, in the space of a few years, had visited various parts of the coast of America, from the Gulf of Mexico to many degrees south of the equinoctial line, taking possession, according to the custom of that day, in the name of the Spanish King. Nor was their zeal for discovery confined to the Atlantic shore alone, parties under daring and enterprising leaders, penetrated far into the interior of the continent, and even to the shores of the Pacific ocean, wresting by violence the rich empires of Peru and Mexico from the peaceful and legitimate sovereigns who reigned over them, and annexed them to the Crown of Spain, by the triple title of conquest, discovery, and the grant of the Pope.

So well satisfied do the rest of Europe seem to have been of the rights of Spain, derived from such high authority, that they permitted her to progress unmolested in her career of discovery and conquest for many years, until she had acquired the undisputed possession of most of the Atlantic coast of South America, and the whole shore of the Pacific, as high as the northern extremity of California, and, as they affirmed, after they came in possession of Louisiana, to a point far to the northward of that.

Though discoveries were frequently made of countries among the most beautiful and fertile, where nature seemed to invite the industry of man to the enjoyment of luxuriant abundance, yet none seemed to arrest the attention of either government or people, but those which contained the precious metals; this morbid thirst for gold may be the cause why no settlements were made north of California, as no metal of that description is believed to be found in that region.

About this time, it became the interest of the British Crown to think differently on the subject of religion from the See of Rome, and, separating entirely from it, assumed the right of annexing to their Crown all the territories discovered by their subjects, and of bestowing them by charter upon individuals. To this end, grants were issued by Elizabeth in the year 1578

and 1584, the one to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the other to Sir Walter Raleigh, which were limited to a certain number of leagues; but those issued in 1606, and 1608, and 1611, by James I in the charters for Virginia, were declared to embrace the whole extent of country from thirty-four to forty-five degrees of north latitude, extending from sea to sea, always excepting the territories of any Christian Prince or people.

It is believed, that when these charters were granted by the Monarchs of England, they were not well apprized of the extent of country they were giving away, but from their reservations, in regard to the title of Christian Princes or people, they were apprized of the title of Spain upon the western ocean, though not informed of its extent; as it is evident, from the words Christian and infidel often occurring, both in the charters of the Monarchs and the bulls of the Pope, the legitimate sovereigns, as well as people of this country in that day were considered as possessing no rights. With whatever care they avoided collisions with each other respecting territory, which might produce a war with a Power equally skilled in the military art with themselves, they were not scrupulous in dispossessing the natives of both Americas of their country, all of whom, as brave, as generous, and magnanimous as themselves, and some of whom as far advanced in civilization and the arts of peace, though not professing to be Christians, or skilled in war.

The opinion of Europe undergoing another change upon the subject of discoveries in unknown regions, they were now reduced to more definite and reasonable extent, consequently in a few years, a third mode of obtaining territory came to be admitted by all as the basis on which they could safely rely for a just decision of their claims, should difficulties present themselves; and one which, to a moderate extent, gave to all nations the benefits of their own labors. By this rule, too, all the territory thus acquired was vested in the State, rather than the Crown, which Spanish jurisprudence, under the authority of the Pope, seemed to consider.

Hence, the Power which discovered a country was entitled

to the whole extent of soil, watered by the springs of the principal river or water course passing through it, provided there was settlement made, or possession taken, with the usual formalities, in the name and on the behalf, of the Government to whom the individual owed allegiance. Though the tacit consent of all seemed to yield the sovereignty from sea to sea, where no settlement or express possession was had of an intermediate country; and such right was held good to the whole extent, but not wholly confirmed until another settlement was made at a distinct point upon the same territory beyond the water of the first or so distant as not manifestly to encroach upon the establishments of the coast; other Powers, though, might avail themselves of the failure of the first to occupy another principal stream, or distant point and become thereby vested with a full right of sovereignty. This seems to have been the condition of America until the close of the war of 1812; since which time all treaties have yielded to the different Powers, in full right, all they claimed, either by settlement, or from the failure of others to occupy the principal streams when they might do so. There is now no longer territory to be obtained by settlement or discovery, and if there should be any difficulty it will be where the different limits of the different Powers shall be fixed.

Impressed with a belief, that under this mode, valuable possessions might be added to the French monarchy, it is presumed Sieurs Joliet, and Marquette, penetrated the unknown wilderness from Canada and discovered the Mississippi so long ago as the year 1673, and explored it down to the Arkansas. Perhaps encouraged by their success, a few years after, Hennepin visited those regions and pursued that river to its mouth. His representations, with other considerations, two years after, induced M. de la Salle and M. Tonti, to descend that river with a considerable force to the Gulf of Mexico, and they are believed to have built the fort during that trip, the bricks and other remains of which are now to be seen on the first high ground on the west side of the Mississippi, below the mouth of the White river.

After this period, in 1685, M. de la Salle, being on his return from France, landed on the west side of the Rio Colorado, in the bay of St. Bernard, and planted a considerable colony there, taking possession in due and solemn form, in the name of the French King. Such were the discoveries which gave rise to France the country called Louisiana, from the Rio Grande del Norte, being the next great river to the west of that settlement, along the mountains of Mexico and New Spain west, as the western limits, and California as the eastern boundary. That France, and all other nations interested in its boundary, considered it in the same light, is ascertained in various ways, to the conviction of the most incredulous.

In consequence of these settlements and discoveries of the French, Louis the XIV granted, by letters patent, in the year 1712, to Anthony Crozat the exclusive commerce of that country, and defines its boundary, declaring that it comprehends all lands, coasts, and islands, situated in the Gulf of Mexico, between Carolina on the east, and Old and New Mexico on the west. The French title to these boundaries is farther established by the Chevalier de Champigny, who lived in the country, and declares Louisiana to extend to the Rio Grande del Norte, and the mountains of Mexico. This appears to be the opinion of other writers, who, it is presumed, had the most intimate knowledge of the subject, and among them we find that intelligent statesman, the Count de Vergennes, in a work, entitled an Historical and Political Memoir of Louisiana, where, he says, it is bounded by Florida on the east, and by Mexico on the west. The same extent is assigned to it by Don Antonio de Alcedo, an officer of high rank in the service of Spain, entitled "*Diccionario Geografico Historico de las Indias Occidentales o America.*" Don Thomas Lopez, geographer to the king of Spain, in a map published in 1762, is of the same opinion, which is supported by the opinion of De L'Isle, of the Royal Academy of Paris, in the year 1782.

Upon the testimony of so many respectable writers, many of whom in the employment of both France and Spain, not



to mention the authority of Du Pratz, it is believed the United States may with safety rely, they having, by the Treaty of Paris of 1803, become possessed of the French title. If, however, there exists any obscurity in the boundary of that province, Spain, with whom it is supposed the title conflicts, has no right to claim any benefit arising from it, as all the writers and geographers, above referred to, agree in fixing Mexico, New Spain, the Rio Grande del Norte, and the mountains of Mexico, as the true boundary anterior to the treaty of 1763. If she, then, by treaty, obtained from France that country, with these limits, as asserted by France, and different ones not being stipulated for by her, she cannot now, with any shadow of justice, propose others. Moreover, Spain, by the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, retroceded this same country to France, with the same extent of boundary it had when originally in her possession, thereby confirming to France, without doubt, all she originally claimed, particularly, as no notice is then taken of the invalidity of the original French title to the full extent of their claim; at all events, it is believed, if there was difficulty in regard to it, during this last transfer would have been the time to adjust it; or, by the law of nations it is thought, as well as candor and good faith, she has not, or ought not, to be permitted to insist upon other boundaries. That law, in one place, declares, that "if the party making them (meaning grants or cessions) fails to express himself clearly and plainly, it is the worse for him: he cannot be allowed to introduce, subsequently, restrictions which he has not expressed."

It is proper, before this part of the subject is passed over, to remark, that, from the examination of the best records of the times, from the discovery of America until the year 1763, the bull of the Pope rather gave a title to the country, the coast of which had been examined by the Spaniards, than confirmed beyond the participation of other nations the hemisphere west of the Azores; but, where an extensive coast had been discovered by them, and no settlement attempted previous to 1763, that coast, and its extended interior, has been

considered the property of the nation so discovering it; or discovering the interior, the unoccupied coasts become a part.

Great Britain, as was her interest, maintained for a long time the old notion of a right to grant by charter all the countries from sea to sea, where it did not interfere with the territory of any Christian Prince or people; and her obstinate adherence to that system is considered as largely contributing to the production of the war of 1755, when she was opposed by France and Spain, as granting away almost all Mexico and the French possessions, both claiming much of the intermediate country, and the coast of the Pacific. Great Britain, at the close of that war, abandoned her pretensions, and gave manifestation of her sincerity, by revoking the first charter granted to Georgia, and in the second, in 1764, limited it to the Mississippi, and agreed, in 1763, to limit her whole territory to that river in the west.

Where territory has been acquired, as already shown, upon any coast, and the same coast actually settled, or occupied by another Power, at such a distance as not manifestly to encroach upon the first, the point equidistant from either is considered as the utmost limits of each; this principle, it is believed, was fixed and settled by all the most important treaties which have engaged the Powers of Europe in affairs appertaining, in any way, to possessions in this country, and, it is believed, was acted upon and sanctioned, not only by the treaty of 1763, but, in some measure, by that of Utrecht, in 1713.

Spain, by virtue of her original discovery, and actual settlement in Mexico, together with her title to Louisiana, claimed the Pacific coast of North America, as high up as the sixtieth degree of north latitude; and, to enforce her claim, in the year 1789, sent a ship of war up the coast to capture, or drive from those waters, several English vessels fitted out in the East Indies by English merchants, upon their own authority, and at their own risk, to trade with the natives in that quarter. This service was performed by Martinez, of his Catholic Majesty's navy; and, in the year 1790, be-

came the subject of a message from the British king to his Parliament. Although much debate ensued, and some resentment expressed towards Spain for her treatment of the British subjects who were made prisoners, yet no claim was alleged on the part of England to territory there. Great Britain, in the course of that transaction, seems to have recognized the claim of Spain, and was willing to treat for the enjoyment of privileges on that coast, which she obtained, and was, by stipulations, invested with the further right to fish even as low down as the Gulf of California.

The Spanish monarch, being in possession of the French title, regardless of that which the United States had obtained, according to the mode last adopted, felt great confidence in his negotiations with the British government, in the year 1790. But the territory, the title to which gave that confidence, has since, by the Treaty of Paris, come into the possession of the United States, and it is believed the Treaty of St. Ildefonso confirmed to France the full extent of boundary originally claimed, Spain taking no notice of the original error, if any existed.

Under this view of the case, the United States, being possessed of the title of France, and, by a just application of the law of nations, that of Spain too, if she ever had any, leaves them the undisputed sovereignty of that coast, from the sixtieth degree of north latitude down to thirty-six, which is believed to be the situation of the mountains of Mexico, alluded to in all the authors and charts before referred to. If, however, there should remain a doubt, that doubt is relieved by a reference to the subordinate principle recognized by the Treaties of Utrecht and of Paris, in 1763. When we know that all the formalities deemed necessary in the possession of a newly discovered country have been complied with on the part of the United States; that, in the year 1785-6, an establishment was made at the mouth of the Columbia river, by Mr. Hendricks, the full and entire benefit of whose courage, enterprise, and success, results to this Union; and at a later day, in 1805, Messrs. Lewis & Clark, in executing

the desires of this government, again visited the Columbia and the western ocean, twelve miles from which they built Fort Clatsop, yet to be seen—these establishments made by the United States, not so near the settlements of California as manifestly to encroach upon them, entitles them to the whole country north of Columbia. And, in applying the principle known to govern in such cases, the point equidistant from the Spanish actual settlements, and the mouth of that river, is the true point at which a line drawn separating the two countries, should commence. The actual settlements of Spain are believed to have been, at that time, upon the Colorado of California, in latitude 32 degrees north; but, even supposing the point to be the extreme south of the claim of the United States, which is believed to be 36 degrees, then the line of separation would fall at 41 degrees. And if any doubt arose as to the claim of the United States to the full extent of the Spanish title, to the north of Fort Clatsop, as high as 60 degrees of latitude, there could remain no doubt, as far as the equidistant point, which would be at the completion of the 53d degree of latitude, leaving us twelve degrees of coast on that ocean.

From every information which can be obtained, worthy to be relied upon, our coast on the Pacific, for years past, has been the theatre of much individual enterprise, stimulated by the rich returns of numerous whale ships, and the great profit of the fur trade, together with the flattering accounts of Messrs. Lewis & Clark, relative to the resources of the interior, though no regular trade or well organized system of commerce existed until the year 1810, in the course of which year a vessel was fitted out in the city of New York, well supplied with provisions and seed of every description necessary in a permanent occupation of the coast, which they contemplated. This little colony consisted of an hundred and twenty men when it arrived in the Columbia; and after ascertaining its soundings, they removed some miles above Fort Clatsop, and built the town of Astoria, where a portion of them cultivated the soil, whilst the other engaged in the fur



trade with the natives. The soil was found to be rich, and well adapted to the culture of all the useful vegetables found in any part of the United States; as turnips, potatoes, onions, rye, wheat, melons of various kinds, cucumbers, and every species of pease. In the course of a year or two, it was believed their interest would be promoted by cultivating and securing the friendship and confidence of the tribes inhabiting the waters of that great river; to which end, the town of Astoria was maintained by about thirty men, whilst the rest established themselves at five other points, to become fixed stations, to raise their own vegetables, trade with the natives, and receive supplies of merchandise from the general depot at Astoria, and return to it the fruits of their labor. One of these subordinate establishments appears to have been at the mouth of Lewis' river; one at Lantou; a third on the Columbia, six hundred miles from the ocean, at the confluence of the Wantana river, a fourth on the east fork of Lewis' river; and the fifth on the Multnomah. Thus situated, this enterprising little colony succeeded well in all their undertakings, nor met with but one misfortune, which seemed to partake largely of that kind which had, for a long time, so certainly and so unseen, been inflicted upon our Western inhabitants: this was the loss of the *Tonquin*, a vessel they had taken from New York, whilst trading down the coast, where, in time past, she had been, in common with the ships of some European Powers, enjoying the friendship and confidence of the natives. This confidence had, by some means, been destroyed, and, whilst they induced many of the ship's company to go on shore, many of their own number went on board the ship, and suddenly attacking the crew, the whole were destroyed, as well as the vessel. This, though a great affliction to the survivors on the Columbia, did not dishearten them, as other vessels were expected soon to arrive, and, with these expectations, they continued their trade, which, becoming profitable, they were less inclined to abandon. But the operations of the war of 1812, which took place between the United States and Great Britain, was destined to mar their prosperity.

That Government, it appears, dispatched a vessel of war, called the *Raccoon*, to destroy or possess Astoria, which, by the assistance of the Indians, influenced by the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies of fur traders, they were easily enabled to do; and have, from that period to the present time, continued to reside at it, as well as on the river above, though a messenger, or agent, was sent by the authority of the United States to receive, and did receive, that post from them, at the close of the late war.

From every reflection which the Committee have been able to bestow upon the facts connected with this subject, they are inclined to believe the Columbia, in a commercial point of view, a position of the utmost importance; the fisheries on that coast, its open sea, and its position in regard to China, which offers the best market for the vast quantities of furs taken in those regions, our increasing trade throughout that ocean, seems to demand immediate attention.

The fur of every country which has produced it, has been ever esteemed one of its most valuable commodities, and has long held a rank among the most profitable articles of commerce; it was much sought for even in the days of Tatila, a Visigoth, who reigned in Italy about the year 522, at which time they drew their supplies from the Suethons, who inhabited that part of Europe called Sweden. The Welch set a high value on them as early as the time of Howel Dda, in 940, and, from its being first an article of dress, used only by the poorer class of the community, it, by gradually extending itself, came to be one of luxury, of the highest value, in which kings and princes vied with each other in their costly magnificence and display; their clothes were not only fashioned of them, but even their tents were lined with the finest varieties. Such was the display of the great Cham of Tartary, when he was visited in his tent by Morco Polo, about the year 1252. It had become so much in use, and so high in price, that Edward the 3d, in the year 1337, deemed it expedient to prohibit its use to any but those who could afford to spend an hundred pounds a year, without detriment to their property. At that

day, having exhausted those parts of Europe which had supplied them, the price increasing with a growing demand, they were obliged to seek them elsewhere, and procured their supplies from the north of Asia. This, for a long time, poured into the adjoining parts of Europe, immense sums, as it was in that direction they were brought to market. This trade, so valuable to that part of the world had no competition, nor were other sources of supply even known until Francis I. of France, in the 1514, sent Jacques Cartier, of St. Maloes, to make discoveries in this country. That gentleman entered the St. Lawrence and exchanged his merchandise for fur, which was the commencement of a feeble trade, that was continued until the year 1608, when Samuel Champlain went some distance up that river, and laid the foundation of the town of Quebec, as a trading establishment, and commenced a system which, however, did not greatly flourish until about the year 1649. But very soon after that country came into possession of England, this trade was cherished and greatly increased, and the dominion of the Hudson's Bay enabled her, not only to supply Russia itself and all Europe, but even to send it to Turkey, and round the Cape of Good Hope, to distant China. That trade which had destroyed all competition, and, in the hands of well regulated companies, capable of enriching an empire, had yielded a part of its profits to the skill and industry of individuals on our western shore; that skill and that industry has withered, not for the want of fostering care, but justice and protection.

The fur trade of Canada has long been conducted by well organized companies; and, although they encounter infinite difficulties, yet the great profit of their business enables them to overcome them, and to divide a considerable per cent. All those articles intended as supplies for the Indians are shipped to Montreal, and carried far into the interior, through lakes and rivers and difficult streams, until they arrive even in the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains. The increasing wealth derived from this source, induced a larger increase of capital, and corresponding exertions to obtain a more extensive knowl-

edge of the rivers and lakes through which their merchandise was to be carried, and a more extensive acquaintance with the natives, among whom they were eventually to be disposed of for furs, the produce of the labor of the savage. With views of this kind small parties have been dispatched, at different times, from the year 1774 until the year 1793, to examine the rivers of the West. At the period last mentioned, one of those parties, under the direction of Alexander M'Kenzie, penetrated even to the Western Ocean, thereby greatly adding to their stock of useful knowledge in that branch of commerce, which they have not failed duly to appreciate. Notwithstanding the great difficulties which the British furriers encounter, from the embarrassment of their commerce by their different systems of exclusive privilege, these companies find it a source of vast profit, far exceeding anything known in the United States; this, too, when the merchandise is so much advanced in price, from the distance and the numerous obstructions. The enhanced value of the articles, and their difficulties in transporting them, may be fully understood, when it is known the tract of transport is equal to three or four thousand miles, through more than sixty lakes, some of them very considerable in extent, and numerous rivers, and the means of transportation are bark canoes. Furthermore, these waters are interrupted in at least an hundred places by falls and rapids, along which the trader has to carry his merchandise on his back, and over an hundred and thirty carrying places, from twenty or thirty yards in extent to thirteen miles, where both canoe and cargo have to be conveyed by the same means.

These are some of the obstructions which the Northwest Company encounters; yet their exports from Quebec alone are valued at more than a million of dollars annually, without reference to those brought to the United States, and shipped from New York and Philadelphia direct to China, rather than incur the cost and delay in procuring them a passage to London, and thence to India, in the ships of the East India Company. Indeed, it appears that many of the goods of that company, destined for this trade, particularly on the coast of



the Pacific, are shipped to Boston and immediately reshipped in American vessels, for the benefit of drawback. These vessels are sometimes employed to make a voyage for them from the mouth of Columbia to Canton. To illustrate more fully the increasing value of this trade, it is only necessary to observe, that from Quebec in 1803, there were exported the skins of six hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine quadrupeds, ninety-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight of which were beaver. Since that time they have extended their trade beyond the Rocky Mountains, and have, as has already been observed, established themselves at the mouth of the Columbia. The amount of their export from that port cannot be ascertained, but it is thought to be of great value. The Hudson's Bay Company is believed to be considerable, and, from a state of former depression, is fast becoming the rival of the other, but for several years past have withdrawn their traders from the west side of the Rocky Mountains; they have fewer difficulties to overcome in arriving at the highest point of navigation, than the Northwest Company. Their route is through Hudson's Bay, the Nelson river, to Lake Winnipie; thence, by passing other lakes, they ascend the Red River to their establishment, which is within ninety miles of the Missouri river, at a point called the Mandan villages. This river takes its rise in the Rocky mountains in about the forty-third degree of latitude, and observes a course north and north-east towards Hudson's Bay until it arrives at the Mandan villages, a distance of nearly 1200 miles, when it turns short to the south, without any apparent cause, and joins the Mississippi; the water running to the Hudson's Bay at that point, approaching within one mile, and no hill or high ground to separate them of any magnitude. Yet, notwithstanding the many advantages which the Hudson's Bay Company possessed over the Northwest Company, the Earl of Selkirk, the patron of the former, and a man of uncommon enterprise, was exceedingly desirous to obtain the privilege of supplying his establishments upon the Red River by ascending the Mississippi to the St. Peter's, thence to its source in

Stone Lake, then, by a short portage, through open woods and a level country, to his stations; or, taking the route by the Missouri to the Mandan villages, thence, by a portage of ninety miles, to his place of destination. The exports of this company, for a short time past, have been very little less than that of the Northwest Company.

The Committee, from carefully examining all the facts connected with the subject referred to them, are well persuaded that the situation of the United States is such as to enable it to possess all the benefits derived from this trade, which, in the hands of others, amounts to millions; many of whose trading establishments east of the Rocky mountains, are within the acknowledged limits of the republic, as fixed by the Convention of London of the 20th of October, 1818; and, it is believed that no power, with the exception of Spain, has any just claim to territory west of them, or on the Pacific. The dependence for subsistence of many of those establishments, is upon the buffalo beef hunted by the Assiniboin Indians, who inhabit the country between the river of that name and the Missouri; their hunting ground is far within our boundary. To succeed in procuring to the people of the United States all the wealth flowing from this source, it is only necessary to occupy with a small trading guard the most northeastern point upon the Missouri river, and confine the foreigners to their own territory; at the same time occupying, with a similar guard, the mouth of the Columbia. The great profit derived from this trade by the Canadian companies, when we know the distance and obstructions in their rivers, and in the various streams they ascend in carrying it on, the advance of price consequent upon it becomes rather a matter of amazement than otherwise, and inclines us to examine our own rivers with a view to the same object. Instead, however, of those formidable obstructions, we find a smooth and deep river running through a boundless extent of the most fertile soil on this continent, containing within its limits all those valuable furs which have greatly enriched others; a certain, safe, and easy navigation, with a portage of only two hundred miles, uniting it with

another river, equally smooth, deep, and certain, running to the great Western Ocean. Thus are those two great oceans separated by a single portage of two hundred miles! The practicability of a speedy, safe, and easy communication with the Pacific, is no longer a matter of doubt or conjecture: from information not to be doubted, the Rocky Mountains at this time, in several places, is so smooth and open that the labor of ten men for twenty days would enable a wagon with its usual freight to pass with great facility from the navigable water of the Missouri to that of the Columbia: the actual distance from river to river several hundred miles from their source, that is from the great Falls of Missouri to the fork of Clark's river, is one hundred and forty-nine miles; the distance, therefore, of two hundred is to good navigation on the Columbia, which is the only river of any magnitude upon that whole coast, north of the Colorado of California, though there are several good harbors, secure and safe for vessels of any size.

The region of country from the Ocean to the head of tide water, which is about two hundred miles, is heavily timbered, with a great variety of wood well calculated for ship building, and every species of cabinet, or carpenter's work; though there is a heavily timbered country thence for two hundred miles further, yet it is of a lesser growth, and quality is not so durable; at that point commences the plain country when the soil becomes more thin, and almost without wood, until it arrives at the table lands below the mountain. Though the soil of this region is not so good as in any other part of this great valley, yet it produces grass of the finest quality, and is emphatically called the region favorable to the production of the horse; this noble animal so far surpassing all others in usefulness, courage and swiftness, is here produced in greater perfection than even in Andalusia, or Virginia. But, independent of all the wealth which may be derived from the fur trade of that river, and the Missouri, the security too which the peace of this country would find in the influence which the American traders would obtain over the native, is the increasing commerce in the Western Ocean. There is no em-

ployment so well calculated to make good seamen, as the whale fisheries, which are known to be more profitable on this coast than any other; at the same time the oil is far preferable to that taken on any other coast, being clear and transparent as rock water. Whilst so many of our citizens are industriously engaged in the various branches of trade in those seas, more valuable to this country it is believed than any other; whilst all nations who have claims upon that coast, and some who have none, are anxious to occupy some position upon it, even at a vast expense, to enable them to participate in its benefits we have neglected to extend to it any portion of our care, though it appears, from the best information, that there is at this time eight millions of property owned by citizens of this republic in the Pacific Ocean.

Russia, whose dominions on the Asiatic coast, occupy nearly the same position upon that side, which ours do on this, has long been well informed of the great and increasing value of that commerce; and whilst she has been no where visible, not even to the powers of Europe, only as she has of late taken part in a few memorable enterprizes, she has been felt everywhere. No labor, care or expense, is avoided, to make tributary the four quarters of the globe; forts, magazines, towns, cities, and trade, seem to arise on that coast as if by magic; with an army of a million of men, she sits not only in proud security as it regards Europe, and menaces the Turk, the Persian, the Japanese, and Chinese, but even the King of Spain's dominions in North America is equally easy of access, and equally exposed to her fearful weight of power. Her watchfulness is ever in advance in discerning the most practicable avenues to profitable commerce. In the midst of all her busy arrangements she has not neglected the opportunity of possessing herself of two important stations on the American shore of the Pacific—the one at a place called New-Archangel, in about 59 deg. of north latitude, the other at Bodiga Bay, in latitude 38 deg. 34 min. At the former of these military positions, for the protection of her commerce it is presumed, she has incurred much expense, and built a fort of great strength, situated upon



one of the best harbors on the coast, standing upon a point of land projecting into the little bay, giving something the appearance of a conical island in the centre of it; this fort is well supplied at all times with provisions and military stores, mounting an hundred and twenty cannon carrying balls from eighteen to twenty-four pounds weight. That at Bodiga is well constructed and supplied with cannon, and has a good harbor; at this point they have ammunition and merchandize in abundance, and find the Indian trade at this post as well as New-Archangel very considerable; besides the fine condition of this fort and its defences, they have many field pieces, some of brass, of the finest construction, in good order and well mounted. All these supplies have been conveyed to those places through immense oceans round Cape Horn, which would have appalled any but Russian policy and perseverance. The light articles destined for this trade are transported from St. Petersburg, in sledges, which will perform in three months, that which would require two summers of water conveyance to effect; their communications are open to Kamtschatka, to fort St. Peter, and St. Paul, by Okhotsk, in the Pacific, where they have the finest harbor in the world; the distance is estimated at ten thousand miles. The nation which can encounter such journeys as these, often through seas of ice, and storms of snow so terrible as to obscure an object beyond the distance of a few paces, to prosecute any branch of commerce, must be well and fully informed of its value. That the objects she has in view may not, by any event, be taken from her grasp, after encountering such vast difficulties, she has found it expedient to occupy one of the Sandwich Islands, which not only enables her effectually to maintain her positions, but to command the whole northern part of the Pacific Ocean. These Islands lying just within the tropics, in the direct course from the lower coast of North America to Canton, are well supplied not only with all the fruits of that climate, but with every vegetable and animal known in this country.

It is worthy of remark, that among other advantages which the Russian position on the opposite coast possesses, is, that a

voyage from Kantschatka to Japan can be made in an open boat, as it is a continued chain of Islands from the Okhotsk sea, until it arrives at its place of destination.

Your Committee are well persuaded that, by a little care and small expense, the citizens of this Republic might reap all the benefits of this trade, not only profitable now, but from every view of the subject there is a strong probability that it will increase for many years.

Were an establishment made at the mouth of Columbia which should be allowed to take with them their women and children, there can be no doubt of success, as so many years experience of the English fur companies have amply shown this mode has the most powerful effect in separating the minds of the men from pursuits, which often in frontier countries lead to strife, as it gives them a local interest and feeling, and makes them even more vigilant and prudent in the discharge of all their duties. It is believed that population could be easily acquired from China, by which the arts of peace would at once acquire strength and influence, and make visible to the aborigines the manner in which their wants could be supplied; the coast of the Pacific is in its climate more mild than any part of the continent in the same parallel, and many vegetables on that shore grow in great abundance in the native forest, which are likewise natives of China.

It is known, that when the Spanish Government, in 1789, sent their ships of war up the coast to capture the British vessels, which were intruding, they found seventy Chinese, whom the English had procured to emigrate, that they might be employed in the mechanic arts; and though the people of that country evince no disposition to emigrate to the territory of adjoining princes, it is believed they would willingly, nay, gladly embrace the opportunity of a home in America, where they have no prejudices, no fears, no restraints in opinion, labor, or religion.

The Committee cannot doubt, that an establishment made on the Pacific would essentially benefit the natives, whilst it would give this country the advantage of all its own treasures,

which otherwise must be lost forever, or rather never enjoyed; and, from all that can be ascertained relative to its present and increasing value, of more profit to this country than the mines of Potosi.

From the best information which can be had, it appears that the Indian trade on the Missouri, below the Mandan villages, is worth about \$120,000, and that on the Mississippi is valued at \$250,000, making the sum of \$370,000 annually. They have reflected upon this trade, and that prosecuted by the whalers on that coast, and are irresistibly drawn to the conclusion, that they are the most valuable to this nation, and demand its care and attention in a high degree. This trade, unlike any other, originates its own capital, and may fairly be said to bring into the United States \$370,000 every year, where not one dollar previously existed, and adds that much to the wealth of the community, as decidedly as though it had been fished from the bottom of the rivers in gold and silver, as it is in the market of China, or any other market, capable of purchasing as much: and if, with that amount in furs, a vessel should sail from the mouth of Columbia to Canton, which is a voyage of from fifty to ninety days, and return with a cargo worth \$740,000, which is the result not of a profitable voyage, but a creative trade.

It is believed that a shipment of tobacco, flour, or cotton, bears no comparison in point of profit with this, as they are properly the rough manufactures of the country, and the result of considerable capital, and the cargo brought back in return for them, in European or other fabrics, is only an increased value they receive by being exported, and returned to us in that shape. Hence, the exportation of \$370,000 worth of tobacco or cotton, should it return to us \$740,000 in European silks and cloth, is still the original cargo of tobacco or cotton, as nothing but these have been paid for them; but, in the first instance, he who manufactures either the tobacco, flour or cotton, is compelled to take into consideration the capital employed, and then the balance is his gain;

but in the fur trade, and the whale fisheries, there is in the one little capital, in the other, none.

Under the strongest belief that, by a new organization of the system of Indian trade, comprehending a settlement on the Columbia river, that great benefits would result to the citizens of the Republic, whilst the aborigines would be better protected and provided for, by instructing them in agriculture and the minor branches of the mechanic arts, the Committee ask leave to report a bill.

The bill is as follows:

*Be it enacted, &c,* That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby authorized and required, to occupy that portion of the territory of the United States on the waters of the Columbia river, and to extinguish the Indian title to a district of country not exceeding — miles square, on the borders of said river, in the region of tide water; and that — acres of land be allowed to each actual settler, being the head of a family, and to each unmarried man, between the age of eighteen and forty-five years, who shall establish himself in said district, and cultivate ground therein within — years after the Indian title shall be extinguished thereto.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the President shall prescribe regulations for the government of said district, and the administration of justice therein, and appoint the necessary officers for carrying the same into effect.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That the President be authorized to open a port of entry, as soon as he shall deem it expedient, within the said district, and to appoint custom-house officers for the regulation of the same; from and after which time the revenue laws of the United States shall be extended over said district, and be of full force therein.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That the President be authorized and required to appoint agents for the Indian tribes on the waters of the Columbia, and to fix the salaries of the agents so appointed, not exceeding the salary now allowed to the agent to the Indians on the Upper Missouri; and that from and after such appointment, all laws of the United States



for regulating intercourse with the Indian tribes, shall be deemed and had to be in full force throughout the territories inhabited by the said tribes.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be a Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who shall reside at St. Louis; and all the Indian agents to the different tribes on the waters of the Upper Mississippi, the Lakes Michigan, Erie, and Superior, and the waters of Missouri, Arkansas, Red River, and Columbia, shall be under his control and direction, and shall correspond with him, and through him, to the Department of War. The said Superintendent shall be authorized and required to grant all licenses to Indian traders, and shall have over them a general superintendence; that each trader shall make a full and accurate report to him of the state and condition of the Indians with whom they trade, at least once a month; and the Superintendent shall forward the same, digested in a general report, to the Department of War, once in three months, or oftener if thereto required.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That so much of every act which establishes a superintendency of Indian Affairs at Washington city, and so much of every act which establishes factories among the Indian tribes, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the property in the hands of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Washington city, and the respective factors in the service of the United States, be sold, and the proceeds accounted for in such manner as the Secretary of the Department of War may direct.

Sec. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That licenses shall not be granted to trade with any of the Indian tribes, to any but citizens of the United States, of approved moral character, and of ability to embark at least — dollars annually in the trade; and every trader obtaining a license so to trade, shall have a fixed habitation; to which end he may lease from the tribe where such habitation is fixed, a tract of land not exceeding — miles square, and for a term not exceeding — years, nor shall it be within — miles of a similar location

previously made, and shall have leave to trade within the limits of their respective licenses; and each trader shall set up a blacksmith shop, and shall supply the Indians with such working tools as they may be willing to purchase; and are hereby required to cultivate at their establishments, the different kinds of grain and fruit, which the climate and soil will produce, and shall rear the domestic animals in common use; and shall furnish seed and stock animals to such Indians as may wish to buy them, and shall induce them to cultivate the soil and rear domestic animals. Nor shall any trader be permitted to sell to any of the Indian tribes ardent spirits of any kind, under the penalty of — dollars for every such offence, and shall ever after be debarred the privilege of trading with any Indian tribe. Each trader shall pay — dollars annually for his license, but it shall be granted during good behaviour upon his giving bond with sufficient security, which shall be judged of by the superintendent, and may by him be required to give additional security in proportion to his additional capital employed every two years, the license to be annulled for breach of conditions, which shall be determined by the verdict of a jury.

Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the money paid to the superintendent annually for licenses by the Indian traders, shall be by him appropriated to the purchase of any kind of seed or domestic animals, for such Indians as may want to cultivate such seed, or rear such animals; but if, at the end of the year, there should be money remaining in his hands accruing from this fund, he shall make payment of it into the Treasury of the United States, where it shall be kept as a distinct fund, to be applied to the building of mills in such place and manner among the different tribes as the President may direct; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent who has care of the affairs of that tribe where such mill is built, to superintend the building of the same, and to transmit an accurate account of his disbursements to the superintendent, and by him to the Department of War.

Sec. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of every Indian agent to report to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs upon the state and condition of the Indians, and the conduct of the traders, within their respective agencies, at least once a month, and oftener if thereto required; the said reports to be made in the form prescribed by the Secretary of the Department of War, and upon all such points as may be indicated by the said department; and the superintendent shall forward the same, digested into a general report, to the Department of War, at least once in three months, and as much oftener as may be required.

Sec. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That all Indian agents, not under the direction of the superintendent as herein directed, shall be authorized to issue licenses to traders within the limits of the Indian territory under their authority, and shall correspond directly with the Department of War.

Sec. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That the sum of — dollars is hereby appropriated to carry into effect the provisions of this act, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

## LETTERS.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO SIMEON FRANCIS.<sup>1</sup>

"Springfield, Illinois, August 4, 1860.

"Friend Francis:

"I have had three letters from you—one, a long one, received in February; one, telling me of the deputation of Mr. Greeley to cast the vote of Oregon in the Chicago convention, received a few days before that convention; and one written since you knew the result of your Oregon election, received a few days ago. I have not, till now, attempted an answer to any of them, because I disliked to write you a mere note, and because I could not find time to write at length.

"Your brother Allen has returned from California, and, I understand, intends remaining here. Josiah is running the J. P. court, about as when you left—We had a storm here last night which did considerable damage, the largest single instance of which was the Withies—A wall of their brick shop building was thrown in, and, it is said, destroyed ten thousand dollars worth of carriages. I have heard of no personal injury done.

"When you wrote, you had not learned of the doings of the Democratic convention at Baltimore; but you will be in possession of it all long before this reaches you. I hesitate to say it, but it really appears now, as if the success of the Republican ticket is inevitable. We have no reason to doubt any of the States which voted for Fremont. Add to these, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and the thing is

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<sup>1</sup> Note.—Simeon Francis was editing *The Oregonian*. He edited the *Illinois State Journal* at Springfield, Illinois, from 1831 to 1857, and during those years formed the acquaintance of Mr. Lincoln, which ripened into a life-long and most intimate friendship. Mr. Francis came to Portland in 1859, and was connected with *The Oregonian* until September 9, 1861, when he was appointed Paymaster in the United States Army. David Logan, spoken of, was a son of Judge Stephen T. Logan, once a law partner of Mr. Lincoln at Springfield. Colonel Baker, alluded to, was Edward Dickinson Baker, a mutual friend of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Francis, who came to California in 1852, and to Oregon early in 1860. He was elected to the United States Senate by the Oregon legislature in September, 1860, raised a regiment for the Union soon after the beginning of the Civil War, and was killed at the head of his command at the battle of Ball's Bluff, Virginia, October 21, 1861. The letter was given to the Oregon Historical Society by Mrs. Byron Z. Holmes, a niece of Mr. Francis. The "Allen" referred to was Hon. Allen Francis, Mrs. Holmes' father, who for many years was United States Consul at Victoria, British Columbia. This letter is printed for the first time.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary.



done. Minnesota is as sure as such a thing can be, while the democracy are so divided between Douglas and Breckinridge in Pennsylvania and New Jersey that they are scarcely less sure. Our friends are also confident in Indiana and Illinois. I should expect the same division would give us a fair chance in Oregon. Write me what you think on that point.

"We were very anxious here for David Logan's election. I think I will write him before long. If you see Col. Baker, give him my respects. I do hope he may not be tricked out of what he has fairly earned.

"Make my kindest regards to Mrs. Francis; and tell her I both hope and believe she is not so unhappy as when I saw her last.

"Your friend, as ever,

"A. LINCOLN."

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The following is a copy of an autograph letter, now owned by the Society, from Gen. George E. Pickett who, in July, 1863, led the Confederate charge against the Federal forces at Gettysburg. The person to whom it is addressed was Major, afterwards Colonel, Reuben F. Maury, a veteran of the Mexican War, an Oregon pioneer of 1852, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Oregon Cavalry during the Civil War. General Pickett, a captain in charge of the United States troops on San Juan Island, Washington, at the time the letter was written, and Colonel Maury were classmates at West Point. This letter was given to the writer for the Society in 1903. Colonel Maury was a resident of Jackson County, Oregon, for many years, and died near Jacksonville on February 20, 1906, in his eighty-fifth year.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary.

GEO. E. PICKETT TO REUBEN F. MAURY.

San Juan, W. T., February 13, 1861.

My Dear Major:

I should have answered your kind note long since, had I not seen in the Portland [Oregonian?] that you were on the eve of saying good-bye to us. It was only by the last steamer I learned much to my gratification that the report was untrue, knowing as I did too that you yourself preferred being let alone. However, my dear Major, I am afraid it is but a short respite—for I think we [officers] of the Grande Armee shall be compelled to go. I much fear the Register of 1861

will be the last published. Write me what you think the best course to pursue in case of a break up. What will we do with the public property & funds. In some places there may be a general scramble. Major Ragan has no money. The troops ought to be paid very promptly in this crisis, that is if the government wish to use them. I myself come from a Union loving State, but matters are taking such a phase at present that she & the other border & Union States such as Ky., Tenn., Md., Mo. cannot make their voices heard. The Republicans in their pride & flush of victory will not listen to the terms proposed by the conservative element from those good & true States, when they ask but their rights and no more. No they are ignominiously rejected. On the other hand I do not like to be bullied nor draged out of the Union by the precipitancy and indecent haste of South Carolina.

Since seeing you last I have learned the sad news of my mother's death. Sad and desolate as it leaves me still it would be a selfish wish on my part that it were otherwise. For years she has been an invalid and lately has been a constant sufferer, uncomplaining always. My sister wrote me that her bodily pains were sometimes terrible to witness. A woman of bright intelligence, very well read, and of a disposition full of love and tenderness. Even to her last hour she made those around her happy. It is a great consolation to know that she is where she can no longer be subjected to our earthly afflictions, and that she did not live to see the country she was so proud of torn with civil strife & discord, and our once great nation a ruin. My uncle writes me that her estate is left to be divided amongst her three children, and which a year ago was worth at least \$100,000 could not now be sold for half that sum—in fact I don't suppose it could be disposed of at all, on account of the depreciation in the value of slaves, etc.

Everything is quiet here. We see a good deal of the offrs [officers] from the other camp and are on very sociable and pleasant terms.

Please present my regards to Mrs. Alvord & Mr. Charles. Love to John Kellogg.

All here Griffin included desire to be remembered to you.

Where is Longstreet?

Ever your friend,

GEORGE E. PICKETT.

## NOTES AND NEWS.

The Oregon people must be credited with a most gratifying political achievement in the nearly unanimous ratification by the legislature of the popular choice for United States Senators. This exhibition of leadership in the solution of what was becoming a decidedly vexatious problem in American democracy betokens genius for the exigencies of self-government. Of course the problem connected with the choice of representative men is not fully solved, and no sagacious Oregonian deludes himself into thinking that Oregon's radical innovations are perfect, yet there is a deep conviction that the State has struck out on the right line and that it means the attainment of a larger and richer commonwealth life and achievement. All patriotic Oregonians are already earnestly deliberating upon improvements in the devices of the direct primary and the method of popular choice of United States Senators that shall retain for Oregon primacy in these great innovations.

The new railway and banking legislation put the State in line with the requirements, as to law and administrative machinery, that modern economic development and achievements demand. By wise adaptation and elaboration of these new departments through interpretation of our own experience and utilization of the experience of other States incalculable returns in higher welfare for the Oregon people are insured. In the matter of taxation and financial administration only minor improvements were secured. It is to be especially deplored that nothing was accomplished by the legislature for the development of irrigation institutions. On the right development of our water resources for irrigation and power purposes hangs so much of the future greatness and happiness of the people of the State—and every postponement of the right start enhances the difficulties of the problem, if it does not permanently dwarf the possibilities of the State—that this failure of the legislature was nothing less than a calamity.

Our situation connected with the organization and work of the institutions of normal and higher education was not relieved. It was hoped that the right co-ordination of these agencies would be entrusted to a representative committee that would undertake a thorough study of all the elements of the problem. The legislative proceedings as well as the discussions carried on by the press of the State indicate that the people are awakening to a realization of their interests at stake in the control of the public utilities. This is exceedingly auspicious.

The Macmillan Company has just published in a most attractive form "Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound." Professor Edmund S. Meany of the University of Washington, in preparing this unique work, has given the historical setting of Vancouver's explorations, also extended biographies of Vancouver and Bodega and sketches of the men honored in the naming of the geographical features of Northwestern America. Finely executed portraits of all the historic characters are inserted in connection with the text of Journal of Vancouver. The Journal is complete for all the movements of the expedition on the Sound and "muster tables" are given in the appendix. More extended notice of this volume will be given in the next issue of the Quarterly. The price of the book is \$2.50 net.

The Sunset for March contains a noteworthy article by Joseph Gaston on "Oregon's Inland Empire." The same periodical has W. F. Bailey's "Overland by the Butterfield Stage."

Professor Joseph Schafer is engaged upon a careful study of the life and public services of Jesse Applegate.

The Hon. John Minto has been contributing to the columns of the Morning Oregonian and the Salem Statesman a spirited discussion of the interest of the people in the forestry policy of the National Government. Mr. Minto is a firm believer in the American idea of entrusting the largest measure of control



of national resources consonant with public welfare directly to the people.

Principal William I. Marshall of the Gladstone School of Chicago died on October 30, 1906. Mr. Marshall was accounted a man of sterling worth in the circle in which he moved and most highly esteemed and loved by his pupils. This man with his broad winning activities in Chicago made the correction of a version of an event of Oregon history his life mission. He is to be credited with a distinct and large service to the cause for disclosing by his indefatigable researches many valuable data. For a score of years he seems to have made the question of how the Pacific Northwest came under American rule his one hobby. He surely knew more about this epoch of Oregon history than any person will be likely to know again. In personal association he was genial and an exemplar in amenity and modest deference, but with his pen he was drastic and would not brook with equanimity a difference of position. If his was not the judicial mind of the great historian he had in the highest measure keenness and zeal in research and for directing his great energies and fine abilities toward the Oregon field he was adjudged deserving the recognition of an election to honorary membership in the Oregon Historical Society. While the results of his investigations have appeared from time to time in the Sunday Oregonian his final statement of them will, it is expected, appear in book form.

Reverend Myron Eells, D. D.,—the leading protagonist championing an opposite view from that of Principal Marshall as to the measure of influence of Dr. Marcus Whitman upon the destiny of Oregon—died at his home on the Skokomish Reservation, near Union, Mason County, Washington, on January 4, 1907. Dr. Eells was a worthy representative of the second generation of that group of missionaries sent out by the American Board in the thirties. Though the spirit and labors of this band did not have any decisive influence in

shaping the destiny of Oregon, nevertheless they did add much to the higher life of the Pacific Northwest. Myron Eells was born on Walker's Prairie, near the present city of Spokane, October 7, 1843, and was the second son of Reverend Cushing Eells and Myra Fairbanks Eells, who came across the plains in 1838 as missionaries of the American Board to assist Dr. Marcus Whitman and wife and Reverend Henry H. Spalding and wife in their work among the Oregon Indians. Myron entered Pacific University in 1861 and was graduated in 1866. He then went East and began his study in theology in Hartford Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1871. He was pastor for the Congregational Church at Boise from 1871 to 1874, when he received an appointment by the American Missionary Association as a missionary on the reservation where he continued his labors until his death. During this period of more than thirty years, however, he was most active and influential in promoting the educational and scientific interests of the Pacific Northwest. He was a trustee of Whitman College and of Pacific University for many years. He had a membership in the Anthropological Society at Washington, D. C., and in the Victoria Institute, London, England, and in many others. The publications of the Smithsonian Institution contain many of his contributions. He was the leading authority in the Pacific Northwest on all questions pertaining to Indian life. He was also a zealous student of the missionary history of this region and made most valuable contributions to the literature bearing on missionary activities. In addition to many minor pamphlets and newspaper articles we have his "History of Indian Missions of the Pacific Coast—Oregon, Washington, and Idaho," published by the American Sunday School Union in 1882; and his "Father Eells, or the Results of Fifty-five Years of Missionary Labors in Oregon and Washington"—essentially a life of his father. This was issued by the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, Boston, in 1894. Pacific University is, I believe, about to publish his history of that institution. In

order to prosecute such studies in ethnology and history in his isolation on the reservation it was necessary for him to collect an extensive library and museum. His collections in his fields of productive activity were most valuable and were in large part bequeathed to Whitman College. Dr. Eells was married to Miss Sarah M. Crosby in Boise, Idaho, on January 18, 1875, and she, with several children, mostly grown, survive him.

## THE PREFATORY NOTE TO THE NESMITH DIARY.

It has come to the notice of the Editor of the Quarterly through anonymous and signed letters that exception is taken to an expression in the prefatory note to the Nesmith diary. They animadvert upon a casual statement that the migration of 1843 was led by Dr. Marcus Whitman. Mr. McArthur, who prepared his grandfather's diary for publication and who wrote the biographical note, made this reference to Dr. Whitman in connection with the migration of 1843 just as he had in the preceding lines used the name of Dr. Elijah White in connection with the migration of 1842, solely to indentify the migration more clearly than the abstract date would suffice to do. Under these circumstances it did not occur to the Editor there could be read into this expression an implied claim, or hint even, that the migration of 1843 was worked up and organized by Dr. Whitman. As a matter of fact, Dr. Whitman was that year retracing a large part of the emigration route the fifth time, so his counsel to the leaders of the migration of 1843 at certain stages of the route, as documentary evidence confirms, must have been quite important.

Furthermore, the Editor of the Quarterly feels that after having published hundreds of pages of prime sources for this period of Oregon history, and after having personally searched through many files of eastern newspapers of this period and having copied for publication much new material to aid in arriving at the whole truth in this matter, that he might fairly receive credit for being without serious bias on the issues of this unfortunate controversy. He had hoped, too, that all sensitiveness had disappeared as the verdict on the main issues was rendered years ago. Nevertheless, he regrets exceedingly that the expression used has disturbed the thought of any of the readers of the Quarterly.



## ACCESSIONS

To January 30, 1907.

Gleanings from the Records of the Boston Marine Society, Through Its First Century, 1742 to 1842. Compiled by Nath'l Spooner. Boston: Published by the Society, 1879. 12mo, Cloth, 191 pp.

Twenty Eventful Years of the Oregon Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1880-1900. Statistical, Historical and Biographical. By Mrs. Lucia H. Faxon Additon, National Organizer and Lecturer, State Historian. Gotshall Printing Company, Portland, Oregon, 1904. 8vo, Cloth, 120 pp. Illustrated with numerous portraits. Presented by the Author.

Baptist Annals of Oregon, 1844 to 1900. By Rev. C. H. Mattoon. With an Introduction by Hon. W. Carey Johnson, LL. D. Vol. I. Press of the Telephone-Register Publishing Co., McMinnville, Oregon, 1906. 8vo, Half leather, 464 pp. Copiously illustrated. Presented by the Author and Publishing Committee.

Eighth Biennial Report of the State Auditor of Washington to the State Legislature, Session of 1905. Published by Authority. Seattle, Washington. The Metropolitan Press, Inc., 1904. 8vo, Cloth, 410 pp. Presented by H. W. Scott.

McCarver and Tacoma. By Thomas W. Prosch. Lowman & Hanford Stationery and Printing Company, Seattle, Wash., 1906. Illus. 8vo, Cloth, 198 pp. Presented by the Author. (Mr. McCarver was an Oregon Pioneer of 1843, a man of affairs in many respects, and the founder of Tacoma, Washington, in 1868.)

Cardinal, The. Portland High School Annual. Class number published by the June Class, 1906. Illus. 8vo, Cloth, 128 pp.

Executive Journal of Iowa—1838-1841,—Governor Robert Lucas. Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Professor of Political Science in the State University of Iowa. Published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1906. 8vo, Cloth, 344 pp.

Governors of Iowa, Messages and Proclamations of. Compiled and edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Vol. VII. Published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1905. 8vo, Cloth, 480 pp.

Iowa Biographical Series. Lucas, Robert; Life of. By John C. Parish. State Historical Society of Iowa, 1907. Illus. 8vo, Cloth, 356 pp.

Directory of Ashland, Medford, Jacksonville, Gold Hill, Central Point, Grants Pass, Roseburg, Drain, Oakland, and Yoncalla. Vol. I—1906. 8vo, 594 pp. Cloth back, paper sides. R. L. Polk & Co., 1906.

American Commonwealth, The. By James Bryce, M. P. Abridged and Revised from First Edition, with Historical Appendix. John D. Morris & Co., Philadelphia. Illus. 8vo, Cloth, 358 pp.

Smith of Bear City and Other Frontier Sketches. By George T. Buffum, New York. The Grafton Press, 1906. Illus. 8vo, 250 pp. Presented by the Author.

Maine Historical Society, Collections of. Series III, Vol. II. Published by the Society. Portland, 1906. Illus. 8vo, Cloth, 500 pp.

Documentary History of the State of Maine, containing the Baxter Manuscripts. Edited by James Phinney Baxter. Vol. IX. Portland, Maine: Lefavor-Tower Company, 1907. 8vo, Cloth, 497 pp.

South Dakota Historical Collections. Illustrated with Maps and Engravings. Compiled by the State Historical Society. Vol. III—1906. News Printing Company, Aberdeen, S. D., 1906. 8vo, Cloth, 592 pp.

United States Life-Saving Service, Annual Report of, for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1906. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906. 8vo, Cloth, 460 pp.

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— Vol II, 1708-1728, with appendix. 525 pp.

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Complete Spanish Course. By Louis Ernst. New York: George R. Lockwood, 1861. 12mo, Cloth, 418 pp. (Contains autograph of W. B. Norman, a Portland business man of 1866-68, who gave it to W. F. Trimble February 28, 1867.)

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## OF THE

# OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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[The QUARTERLY disavows responsibility for the positions taken by contributors to its pages.]

### RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN AGENT—II.

By T. W. DAVENPORT.

**Note of Correction.**—The expression, "Before going, Mr. Barnhart remarked to me," etc., etc., found at the opening of the second paragraph of page 7 of the first installment of this paper, should read, "Before going, he remarked to me," etc., etc., the pronoun referring to Matty Davenport.

Several times since commencing to write these recollections, I have hesitated in the work on account of the doubt in my own mind as to how they would be received by my fellow citizens who should chance to read them; whether the readers would not be inclined to dismiss my declared intention of giving an unvarnished account of agency matters, so far as I knew them, as quite out of the common order of human nature, and therefore improbable, and fall back upon the more natural assumption that my recollections were prompted by a desire to vaunt my virtue as an exceptionally honest Indian agent.

But, as hereinbefore stated, my appointment was wholly unexpected and unsought, and the principal purpose I had in view, and which determined my acceptance of Mr. Rector's offer, was the curiosity to know the true inwardness of a business which had gained for its operators the bad reputation generally applied to them, of "blank voucher artists."

I think, however, a fair perusal of what is here written will show that I have not gone beyond the probable truth, or been actuated by any desire to write down anybody below what the facts warrant. Rather it has been my purpose to state the facts, as respects persons, and let the reader draw his own conclusions.



And there is one reflection due to this subject, as it has general application to distinctive employments, viz: the tendency to a growth of customs peculiar to each. And I must admit that as respects the customs attaching to the agency system, I was totally ignorant. I had never been upon an Indian reservation, had never seen a report of an Indian agent, or any of their papers—at most, some blank vouchers, and sub-vouchers; the abstracts and other papers necessary to the sufficient quarterly reports, I had to construct with or without suggestions from Mr. Levy, the cook, who had gained some knowledge of that method of keeping accounts, by copying reports of army officers, while acting as hospital steward. He had been a long time in the service, he said, and had served in a similar capacity on an Indian agency in one of the Territories. He was well up in the matter of agency customs, for which he was quite a stickler.

It will be recollected that about the only general instructions Superintendent Rector gave me, were couched in the sentence, “Manage the agency on the square, just as you do your own business,” and in conformity with that rule I made the announcement to the employees, when taking charge of the business, to which they all assented.

At that time, Mr. John S. White, superintendent of farming, got leave of absence to go to Portland to attend to his private business, which took a month. So, in making up the papers for the last quarter of the year 1862, Mr. White’s voucher called for only two months, and the sum of \$200. To this he objected, much to my surprise, and stated that such a deduction was contrary to custom. He was supported by Mr. Levy, who said it was “an unheard-of ruling.” Of course, I could not controvert their testimony; in fact I had no desire to do so. But how can I construct the voucher so as to give Mr. White the full pay of \$300, without certifying to a falsehood? And to make this matter plain, requires a statement, such as the voucher must contain, to conform to the regulations of the Indian Department:

“The United States to John S. White, Dr., for three months service as superintendent of farming at the Umatilla Agency; last quarter of 1862, \$300.

“I hereby certify that the above account is correct and true, that the services have been rendered as stated, and that there is due therefor the sum of \$300.

“Signed, \_\_\_\_\_, Indian Agent.”

This is the way the voucher must read in order that Mr. White could get \$300, but it compels me to sign an untrue statement, for Mr. White has not performed the service as stated. To this the two contestants for the inviolability of custom replied, “Suppose it does, who will know whether the service has been performed or not?” My answer came quick and warm, “I know, and what troubles me, is, that I am the one to verify a falsehood. You can rest assured that I shall not do it.” Mr. White said he would appeal the case to the Superintendent, to which I gladly assented, as it relieved me of responsibility. He chose to present the case personally, and made a trip to Salem, taking sub-vouchers in my name to reimburse himself for expenses, all unauthorized and unallowed.

Mr. Rector gave him a letter instructing me to pay Mr. White the \$300, but as that did not relieve me of signing a false voucher, I refused to be governed by the instructions. I offered to make a voucher certifying that he had performed two months service, and that I paid him \$300 in obedience to the Superintendent, but this he would not consent to. I then proposed to execute a full voucher, if he would hire a man to perform the lacking service, to which he agreed, and I supposed the matter was adjusted satisfactorily. But I was in error. Thenceforth he viewed me as an enemy opposed to his interests, instead of a friend who could not be persuaded to sign a false certificate.

The regulations governing Indian agencies stipulated that neither the agents nor the employees should own any interest in the sutler's store. It was reported, however, that Mr. White was a silent partner of the sutler, Mr. Flippin, who was

a cousin. I made no inquiries concerning the matter, but passed the usual certificate to the employees for their signatures. Mr. White did not sign it and wanted to know if I considered him less a man of honor than myself, and expected him to sign a falsehood? I answered, "Tell Mr. White that I do not question his word or his honor; that if he signs the certificate I shall assume that he is not interested in the sutler's store, and if he refuses to sign it I shall assume the contrary, and obey the regulations of the Indian Department by appointing his successor." He signed.

Mr. White had been in the draying business in Portland for several years, and knew the merchants there, and their retail customers living throughout the State. Hence his acquaintance with that class of business men was quite extensive. To such of them as traveled through the reservation on their way to and from the city, Mr. White's house came to be a convenient stopping place for dinner, for which, at 75 cents a meal, he must have realized a fair remuneration. Besides, it was an accommodation to his friends and acquaintances, in this country of long distances between places of refreshment. At this time, Grande Ronde Valley and Powder River were fast settling up, and the gold mines at Auburn were attracting population, so of course, Mr. White's eating place became more and more to have the appearance of a regular tavern.

I suggested to Mr. White that he could not keep a public house on the reservation without permission from the Indian Department, to which he responded, that he could not have the heart to deny his hungry friends a meal, and he could not feed them gratis. "Yes, I see the difficulty, but the business is growing and must be stopped."

Down the river, some three miles, just off the reservation and where Pendleton now stands, a store and tavern had been located, and the keeper of the latter sent up to me a written protest against keeping a public eating house at the agency.

In terms, we were not doing so, for there was no public notice or solicitation for custom. In fact, we were, and I

caused notice to be posted on the ends of the departure from the main road, informing travelers that we could not feed them at the agency without violating the instructions of the Indian Department. This ended the business, and Mr. White resigned his position as superintendent of farming and departed for the Auburn mines, leaving his family at the agency. I regretted very much that our ways did not coincide, for Mr. White was a genial, kindly man, not at all lacking in intelligence, and therefore socially attractive, still, I could not, for a moment, think of cutting loose from all guides of safe conduct.

From such incidents, and there were others, I could see and feel how easy it is for even well-disposed persons to depart, little by little, from the true course and soon lose sight of the purpose originally had in view. And how much easier and more certain such a departure becomes when the guiding purpose is vague, or loosely held by the person essaying it. With such a torch-light of truth in hand, how ludicrous is the public expectation that Indians can be brought to take an interest in civilizing pursuits, by persons who never studied the problem of civilization or had any faith that the Indian is susceptible of being anything more than a barbarian. To such people, though commonly honest, working for self-interest is a natural and, I can believe, inevitable diversion.

If the Government expected or desired to succeed in civilizing the aborigines, then the first step was, to select for Indian agents only those who were experts in the civilizing process; not mere theorists to be sure, but practical men who had faith that every advance is the result of individual exertion of mind and body; that progress is not to be put on and off like a coat, but consists in doing, in adapting the whole man to his environment. But, judging from the failure of the agency system to promote the welfare of the Indians, and the too common corruption of the service, we must conclude that no rational tests were ever applied in selecting agents. As a matter of fact, we know that agents were never selected



by the application of any civil service or humanitarian rules, but appointed on account of partizan service, wholly at variance with the benevolent designs of the Government.

About 1870, the agency system had become so rotten that the Grant administration was persuaded to accept agents selected by the churches, but this did not appear to be any improvement. The churches did not apply the proper tests. Agents were selected on account of religion, or rather belief; a substitution of church service for political service. The real test was still partizan. But religious profession has small influence upon the civilizing process, as relates to Indians, which is mainly industrial; neither is it an assurance against the peculations of politicians. After the failure of the church experiment, the Government had recourse to the army, whose officers were assumed to be above sharp practices. But this move was met by the combined opposition of the politicians in Congress, as it curtailed their means for rewarding the personal service of friends. So the army, in this connection, is without praise or blame. Though my experience at the Umatilla was short, too short in fact to speak of it as conclusive evidence of the soundness of my views upon the Indian question, yet the responses to my experiments left me no room to doubt that Indians must travel the same road up to social and industrial competence, that all successful races have traveled before them. Indeed, I can conceive of no other process except that which tends to make the individual man an active, energetic and intellectual factor of industrialism. How to accomplish it is the problem. Setting an example, though good, is wholly insufficient, as the past experience has abundantly proven.

The Indian must be more than an eye witness. He must be the doer, and to make him so, he needs more stimulus than a man who has passed beyond the hunting, fishing and marauding stage of existence and its feverish excitements. He is not lacking in a game of baseball, and other physical contests involving his pride and faculties of emulation. And is there

any reason why the same kind of stimulus and encouragement employed to advance industrialism among the whites, should be entirely neglected upon an Indian reservation? Agricultural societies, with their bounties and premiums; clubs for discussing methods and results, and the consequent strife to attain excellence.

The Indian schools, such as Chemawa, are in the right direction, to the extent that they are selective and manual, but likely they will prove to have a baneful influence, in that the graduates will find themselves out of rank with their kind. An Indian agency would be free from this taint, and with a wide-awake agent, well informed, and anxious to verify his aspirations for improvement, would afford the best opportunity for successful experiment, to be found on this continent. Merely allotting lands to Indians and declaring them citizens, is to turn them out to the mercy of the white wolves of civilization. That, too, has been proved.

As has been stated, there was no appropriation of money by the Government to pay for the services of a clerical assistant to the agent at the Umatilla, an evidence which should have been conclusive that he was expected to perform such service himself without additional compensation. No house had been built especially designed for an office where such work could be performed free from the interruptions of other concerns and hence the agent had to keep his accounts, construct his papers and make out his quarterly reports to the heads of the department, within the one-roomed cabin where his family resided and performed all of the operations pertaining to his household. There was a large building which served as a meeting or council house to which the agent could repair to meet any considerable number of his wards, but for ordinary consultation with the chiefs or head-men of the tribes, hearing reports from the employees or interpreter, from sheer convenience, his house was constrained to permit that innovation too. And, on the whole, I think such relations, when conducted with respect to the sacred proprieties of private life,

contributed to mutual confidence, affection and respect, instead of degradation and, through familiarity, loss of dignity and esteem. Our experience was, that all persons so admitted became more kind and respectful as time passed on. The common Indians, one at a time, as we requested, knocked at the door, were invited to enter and be seated at the fireplace. One chair was reserved for such purpose and the sitter, after an hour of silent inspection, would pass out and another would enter and take his place. Day after day for weeks this was kept up without any question hinting at intrusion. Sometimes I or my wife would ask if we could do anything for them, and the invariable answer was, the Walla Walla word *wato*, or the Chinook *wake* (no.) Our little daughter, then five years old, having learned a few words of Chinook, would essay a conversation, which always produced a relaxation of countenance indicative of sympathy.

I had been busy for a month, making out the annuity lists, when the interpreter entered one day about noon and informed me that the council house was full of Indians who had sent him to request my attendance forthwith. I asked him what appeared to be the matter, as I had not heard of any dissatisfaction with my way of managing.

“Oh, you will know when you have heard what the Indians have to say.”

“But, Antoine, tell me of their wants that I may have time to call my thoughts together.”

“You will have time enough,” he said, and I could observe from the pleased expression of his face that some surprise was in store for me.

Upon entering the house and looking around, I saw at once that this was no impromptu gathering; seats had been prepared and there, in perfect silence, sat as many as 200 Indians. Howlish Wampo, in his fine cloak, was in his usual place as master of ceremonies. He, too, looked pleased, and for the life of me I could not guess the purpose of this unexpected meeting. With rather suppressed gravity the chief arose and

seemed uncertain as to what he should say, but, passing along with some apparently meaningless exclamations, he told me that these people had been silent but watchful observers of what I had been doing since I came, and had formed an opinion of which they wished to tell me personally. He then took his seat and one at a time, to the number of twenty or more, stood up and gave the result of his observation.

They all had the same opinion, though expressed in different language. They had been watching me closely when I was not aware of it; they had seen me in my family, had looked into my heart and had drawn close to it and their hearts had told them that their agent is an honest and friendly man and would treat them as brothers. There was no dissenting voice, but I remarked that only a part of the large audience had expressed an opinion and I asked if any one there had a different opinion. Howlish Wampo answered, "No, all alike." I then said that such testimony was very gratifying to me and, being so unanimous, I might suspect that some white courtier had been working up public opinion to please me. Of course these people expect me to be as frank as they have been and speak my mind without fear or desire of giving offense. "Yes, yes," was answered. "Well, before I begin I desire to ask the interpreter and all the other employees if they had any hand in working up this meeting?" All answered in the negative. Old Mr. Henry, the carpenter, who had been there two years and was well acquainted with the Indians, said he knew something was afoot but he did not know what. I began by saying that my good friends here assembled might regret having done so if I should bore them with a long speech, telling them to be good and not watch me too closely. Howlish Wampo smiled and said, "Try us." It has always seemed to me unwise for a man to say, "I am honest." Any rogue can say as much and would probably do so. That is not the test of honesty. Honesty, like love, speaks out in service which does not lie. So, you will be able to form a correct judgment when I leave, whether what I have done shows me to be honest

or dishonest. Let me ask these people who have so much confidence in their eyes, if they have seen nothing in the last two or three weeks to cause a suspicion that some secret work was going on here, against their interests? Did they see those two nicely dressed gentlemen, one from Portland and the other from Walla Walla, hanging around here and soliciting private interviews with me, in fact, playing the agreeable? Some one answered in the affirmative. Do you know what they wanted? Antoine answered, "Yes, all of us know."

"How did you know it—I never told anybody?"

"I learned it from Mr. Flippin, and you know, Mr. Davenport, that I speak Indian," said Antoine.

"What did you learn from Mr. Flippin?"

"Why, that they offered to give you \$1,000 to exchange the annuity goods for the same amount in yards, etc., delivered at this place free of cost."

"These people knew of that and yet had no doubts as to my honesty?"

Antoine answered: "Why should they have, after hearing the compliment they paid you? They said to Flippin, 'Davenport is a tender-hearted d—d fool that does not know which side of his bread is buttered.'"

I remarked that those gentlemen had no good reason for denouncing me so roughly, for I never intimated once to them that their proposal was not straight business. When they made it I asked them for a full explanation of how they proposed to do, and they gave it without reserve, viz: that they would take a transcript of the invoices of the annuities in store and return the same number of blankets and shawls, yards of satinettes, linseys, calicos, etc., so that the issue of annuities could go on just the same as though no substitution was made. They said, "Of course, the goods we will furnish are not so good, the blankets are not so heavy and the cloths are not so valuable or there would be nothing in the exchange." They pressed the matter, saying it was a plain business proposition that would profit me more than a year's salary and they would make something out of it too.



“Yes, I see; but there are some objections to it. In the first place, though the goods here are of the best quality, they will hardly suffice to keep the Indians, especially the women and children, comfortable during the cold weather, and if I should substitute five-pound blankets for eight-pound, light woollens for those more substantial, porous shawls for those close woven, there would be, undoubtedly, considerable suffering before spring.” They replied that a blanket is a blanket, a shawl is a shawl, calico is calico and linsey is linsey to an Indian. “Perhaps,” said I, “that an Indian is not an expert in the dry goods business, but would they not *feel* the difference very sensibly, and how could I help knowing that I had contributed to their discomfort? Look here,” said I, “I will not consider the proposition a minute unless you will come and stay here where you can be a witness with me to the destitution and misery the change will bring.”

Antoine broke out with a spluttering laugh and a question, “What did they say to your proposition?”

“Say! Why, they laughed a very different kind of laugh from yours, and said, ‘We had not thought you so chicken hearted.’ You are mistaken, said I, it is you who are chicken hearted and afraid to come here and face the music with me. We parted in a friendly manner, and they acted as though they felt cheap, to think they had been beguiled into a full explanation of a scheme which they could not deny would bring misery to human beings.” After this explanation I thought proper to speak to them of the annuities which we would begin to issue within the next week, and I addressed my words to the chiefs of the three tribes, Howlish Wampo, Pierre, and Winam Snoot, “You and your people have expressed your confidence in my good intentions but you must remember that the means placed at my disposal are very limited. We shall issue all the goods to you, and as near equally as possible, but you will be disappointed. There are not enough coats and pants for the men and not enough shawls for the women. So, after consultation with you and the interpreter, the coats,

pants, shawls, etc., have been allotted to those who from age and feebleness most need them. All will get blankets, and the best ones that are made. Superintendent Rector must be credited with getting the best for you, and those purchased at Baltimore are equally good. There is another subject I wish to speak of, and as I have learned that Mr. Barnhart will be returned and I shall not be with you after the first of July, I desire to do so now. I desire to impress upon your minds the necessity of becoming farmers and, to a limited extent, stock raisers, and to assist you in that I shall purchase some sets of harness, have the plows kept in order and furnish you seed for planting. But for you to work willingly and earnestly you must be fully convinced that such a course is best for you, in fact, the only one left open for you to travel. You often regret that the whites ever came to this country and date the beginning of your troubles from the time of their coming, but if you will think back and try to get at the truth, you must see that your opportunities for a sure and good living are better than before. When Lewis and Clark came through this country some sixty years ago, when there were no whites to bother you and when there were ten times as many deer, elk, and smaller game, more fish, camas and cous, they found the Indian tribes of Eastern Oregon and Washington, yours among the number, hard pressed for a living, in fact, so nearly destitute that the explorers had to eat dogs. The truth of history is, that Indian tribes in general were put to severe trials every winter to supply themselves with food. And you should know the causes of such destitution. Though you spent more of your time on the banks of the river here, of necessity you were rovers. The game was in the mountains a dozen miles from here, the fishing grounds more than thirty miles in another direction, the camas a score of miles in another direction, the cous grounds miles away and berries scattered far and wide, and even if all such foods were in great abundance and never failed, the loss of time in traveling about to get near the sources of supply would have kept

you poor. But there was not always an abundance; sometimes there was a shortage in nature's productions. You could not depend, even then, upon getting a bear or deer when you needed it and were reduced nearly to starvation sometimes. With a house and barn and stock, a cow giving milk, some pigs in the pen, some chickens about the premises, potatoes in the cellar and wheat in the bin, you would not be subject to any such pinches, if there was not a deer in the mountains, a camas root in the swale or a fish in the river. Let me say to you that the troubles which you lay to the coming of the white man are not so many or so bad as those you had before the whites came. I cannot refer you to your history for proof of what I say, for you have no history, but tribal wars were common then, whereas now there is peace between the tribes and very seldom any trouble between the two races. And do you know that tribes of men who try to live upon the spontaneous productions of the earth, must be at war with each other a great part of the time, if they are ever so well disposed and peaceable, for they must be continually striving against each other for subsistence. They cannot increase much in numbers, for there is not game enough to feed them. Just think of it in a practical way. A short time ago one of your best hunters, Ta-cotus-eeno-wit, borrowed my fine rifle to go hunting in the Blue Mountains. He was gone a week and did not get a single deer or anything larger than a grouse. That week's work on an acre of the Umatilla bottom would produce enough to last his family a year. A great part of this reservation is the best land in the country and is capable of supporting ten thousand people. You number about a thousand and can live with the help you get from the Government, better than your white neighbors."

Owing to delay in forwarding blankets bought of the Wilamette Woolen Mill Company in Salem, the issue of annuity goods to the three tribes did not take place until late in December, when fortunately the weather was quite mild for this climate. Most of the goods, which were of excellent quality,

were bought in Baltimore in 1860, at low prices, shipped around the Horn, and had been lying in boxes and bales at the agency for a year or more. In 1862 they had more than trebled in value, an excellent increase, but a circumstance wholly unimportant to the Indian, whose privations could not be compensated by any advance in price of consumable goods. Why they had not been distributed at the proper time I never knew.

The census showed the numbers of each tribe in four classes, men, women, children under ten, and those over ten not married. Of the Walla Walla tribe, the only one of which I have record evidence before me, there were 91 men, 121 women, 67 children under 10, and 45 over ten, a total of 324. It may be interesting to know that these 324 Indians received 122½ pairs of blankets, 56 yards of saved list blue cloth, 73 cotton flag handkerchiefs, 78 large and small blanket wool shawls, 922 yards of calico, 90 yards of turkey red calico, 716 yards of blue drill, 327 yards of ticking, 161 yards of satinette, 494 yards checks, stripes and plaids, 301 yards of plaid linseys, 450 yards unbleached domestic, 153 yards of brown cotton duck, 59 twilled flannel shirts, 111 hickory shirts, 14 Canadian belts, 108 pairs of woolen socks, 3,017 skeins cotton thread, 277 skeins of linen thread, 277 gross agate and bone buttons, 3 yards of cotton stripe, 22 satinette coats, 23 pairs of satinette pants, 51 wool hats, 49 caps, 32 tin pans of 2 quarts, 36 tin pans of 4 quarts, 26 tin pans of 6 quarts, 16 pairs of women's shoes, 65 pairs men's kip brogans, 31 hatchets, 20 sickles, 21 yawk hoes, and 1,215 plugs of tobacco.

This has a pretty fair appearance, until we stop to compare what is furnished with the most pressing needs of the Indians. To the men, 91 in number, are given 59 flannel shirts, 22 coats, 23 pants, 51 wool hats, 49 caps, and 65 pairs of brogans. Consequently, only two-thirds of them could have a flannel shirt each, about one in four could have a coat or a pair of pants, a little over half would have shoes, and 122½ pair of blankets to 324 persons is a ridiculously small allowance. No



doubt, the good men who negotiated the treaty with these Indians meant well and intended to be exact and practical in stipulating that so many thousand dollars should be given to them in annuities, but they could not have hit upon a plan, if indeed they can be accused of having a plan, which would be more productive of discontent than the one adopted. That \$20,000 was to be given to the three tribes in annuities sounded big to the ignorant red people; and especially was it a moving inducement to sign the treaty, after being told that six mules would be required to pack the silver dollars to be expended for them in clothing, bedding, and other necessities.

Although proper explanation was made to them in advance, many times during the issue, the proceedings were arrested by the necessity of explaining why one man was not given a coat, pants, or shoes while others no better or more needy had them. As has been seen, there was not enough of each to go around and the deficiency was approximately supplied by giving to each man or woman the same value reckoned in dollars, viz: \$19.56; to each child under 10, about \$5; to each one over 10, about \$10. This was the best that could be done and was tolerated by them, though with some grumbling.

At such rates as the United States Government supplies its soldiers, the allotment as above stated would have supplied every man, woman and child with a good suit of clothes, and a pair of three-point blankets to each man and woman. Really, the worst part of the annuity business was the uncertainty as to what kinds of goods would be furnished, and at what time, if at all. The Indian, like the white man, is a provident animal and lays up supplies, in the temperate zone, for the winter, or for such time as spontaneous nature is barren of fruit. He knows when the stream will not yield him fish, when the soil does not furnish edible roots, when the bushes carry no berries, and the season of the year when game is not to be taken, and fills those vacancies from the bountiful periods which seldom fail, but lo! the poor agency Indian never knows what or when to expect from the promises of his guardian.



If demoralization of these wards had been designed by the Government, it is doubtful if the scheme to accomplish it would not have given better satisfaction to them than the past treatment by political Indian agents.

One episode was quite unexpected and rather amusing. Susan, a Walla Walla woman, wife of a half-breed, Alex McKay, sister-in-law of the interpreter, Antoine Placide, expressed dissatisfaction in earnest words to the interpreter, who jollied her for being a grumbler. At that time I knew nothing of her social relations in her tribe, but during my absence in Portland an acquaintance had been formed with my wife, who esteemed her highly. In every community there is always some one, and generally a woman, whose innate tendency impels her to assist those who are by nature or misfortune incompetent to care for themselves. This busy-body seems to act as though divinely commissioned to explore the recesses of society in search of misery and of those in want—widows and orphans, the lame, the halt, the blind—and bring their destitution to the eyes and ears of those who ought to help. Such a person was my wife in the community where she lived; such, too, was Susan McKay among the lowly red people of the reservation. Indeed, could humanity survive among any people wherein the divine spark of love is extinct?

After receiving her goods, Susan called to see my wife, who expressed much surprise at the smallness of her allotment, and said, "Why, Susan! You have given away more than that since I came, and you have a half dozen little waifs on your hands at present. Come and let us see what there is among the Indian goods any how." Presently my wife came through the room and after looking among the cloths took a bolt of calico and one of linsey and strode out. Silence reigned, as no one seemed to know what that meant. At length, Antoine broke it with a loud laugh, and an ejaculation of, "Mr. Davenport, those two women will break you up." "All right, Antoine, if that breaks us, we will buy of the sutler." That evening the two women were busy; the sewing machine was humming, and the orphans were soon clothed.

Late in January of the year 1863 a very virulent type of measles was somehow introduced among the Indians of the Umatilla Reservation and carried off in the next three months a great part of the children under six years of age. The agency physician seemed to have no success in treating it, and laid his failure to the nursing or co-operative treatment which parents insisted upon in every case. The Indian's venerated custom of a hot steam bath, followed by a cold douche or plunge into the ice cold water of the river, was followed by a speedy collapse of the vital powers of the infant. Almost every day a funeral procession passed on its way to the burying ground upon the bluff, and though unattended by the outward signs of woe, common to enlightened people, the sight was inexpressibly sad. More doleful, in truth, than the hearse with its sable plumes and the slow-moving funeral procession indicative of civilization's grief, was the little squad of half-clad mourners bearing a-foot to the grave a rude pine box containing the body of one whose loss to them was as sore a trial, perhaps, as the Anglo-Saxon feels when death enters his household. To those accustomed to the comforts of highly progressive society, the destitution of barbaric tribes seems to deepen the mournful feeling occasioned by death, and I frequently queried whether the pangs of separation were as sharp and poignant to the Indian as to us. Answering from all outward appearances, I should say yes. They do not forget their places of interment, and they energetically refuse to leave the country where their loved ones are buried. I had been a witness to many scenes of mourning and had heard, as I supposed, all the agonizing tones of which the human voice is capable in times of grief, but the saddest and most heart-rending wail I ever heard came from an Indian woman kneeling by the side of her dead husband. It seemed as though every human aspiration and hope had been utterly extinguished.

What effect religion may have in ameliorating the pains of the bereaved, I know not, for, unlike his white brother, there

is no red man devoid of a belief in a future state of existence, and, consequently, no opportunity is afforded for truthful comparison. And differing, too, from believers in orthodoxy, the unconverted aborigine has no permanent hell, and pictures to himself a heaven wherein his chief delights on earth are to be more enjoyable and extended.

The Catholics had been more successful in proselyting among the three tribes than other denominations, and Father Mesplie, in his occasional visits, had quite large meetings. Howlish Wampo and his numerous relatives were members of Mesplie's church, and being wealthy, contributed much to the cause of his religion. Old Stickas was one of Dr. Whitman's converts, and of course a Presbyterian, of whom ex-Senator Nesmith said, "If there ever was an Indian who could be said to have a proper conception of the Christian religion, I think Stickas is the one."

At the time of my agency, Stickas was quite old, though not at all in a mental decline, and it was his custom to visit my house, seemingly with no other purpose than to talk upon his favorite subject, the duties of Christians and the joys of a future state. Dr. Whitman must have taught him through an interpreter, as Stickas could not speak English and but a few words of Chinook, which was understood by all the coast tribes and quite commonly spoken by the early white immigrants to the Northwest Coast. The Walla Walla dialect was the one used by the agency Indians, as all the three tribes were conversant with it; the Cayuse language, quite different from the other, having become a dead language to the younger members of the Cayuses.

Without undervaluing the efficacy of Dr. Whitman's teachings and example, I should say, from an outside inspection of Stickas, that nature did the principal part in Nesmith's unique aboriginal Christian. Evidently he was a pure-blood Indian, but a very rare specimen of his race; not, however, on account of extraordinary force or fervor, although he did not lack in physical proportions and when young was, no doubt,

noted for strength, activity and endurance; but in him the distinctively animal did not stand out so obtrusively as in the so-called typical Indian. Though not deficient in courage, he was no war chief. The kindly qualities of human nature were in the ascendant. No one could see his regular and well-formed features, his kind and intelligent eye, his tall and symmetrical figure, showing the deliberative gentleman in every movement, and hear his mild and persuasive voice, without being impressed with the possibilities, too generally doubted and denied to the red man. I first met him in August, 1851, when he piloted us on a new road across the Blue Mountains, and my father said then, "There is a good man without regard to color or accident of birth."

In March, our daughter, about six years old, was taken with measles and successfully treated according to the hydropathic system of practice. By the time she had recovered my wife was taken and passed safely through by the same method. In neither case was the agency doctor called, a circumstance which challenged the attention of all those who had children to be saved, and a deputation of Cayuses, headed by Howlish Wampo, came to ascertain our manner of treatment. During my wife's sickness, two Indian women, Susan McKay and Wash Mary, had assisted me in watching and nursing, and calling them to her aid, my wife went to the wigwam of Yellow Hawk and treated his twin boys successfully. After that, the two Indian women saved all of whom anything was known. Whether this lesson bore permanent fruit, I cannot say, and, if not, the Indians are not peculiarly inapt or unretentive, for white people allow such practical demonstrations to escape them. In this connection I might mention that when my wife left the agency in the latter part of April there was such a scene as I never witnessed under similar circumstances in any civilized community. Her so-called barbarian acquaintances of both sexes assembled to bid her good-bye and their expressions of sorrow by tears and lamentations affected her most deeply. Talk of Indians being stoical; such terms do not

apply. She was surrounded and held fast by men and women unwilling that she should leave.

In one night of the month of February, snow fell to the depth of eighteen inches in the Umatilla Valley, and was considerably deeper on the Blue Mountains, so that travel was prevented for a few days. One man, on his way to the Grande Ronde Valley, with several teams loaded with merchandise, was camped near the agency the night of the snowfall, and, being unable to proceed, applied to me for permission to store his goods in one of our buildings until travel could be resumed. Permission was freely granted and the large carpenter's shop designated for the purpose. Mr. Henry, the carpenter, superintending the business, reported that a part of the freight consisted of case liquors and was undecided whether it would be consistent with the regulations of the Indian Department to permit the storing of liquors in the agency building. The question being referred to me, I informed the owner and Mr. Henry that we were acting in a perfectly proper and humane way by affording a temporary refuge to an American citizen engaged in legitimate business; that he need not tell what his merchandise consisted of, and that so long as he kept his liquors in case no question would be asked and no objections raised. Before the end of two weeks he resumed his journey, and in an hour or two after his departure I learned through one of the employees that he had been daily treating them and others and that the cook had been pretty drunk several times. Feeling quite indignant over such an abuse of kindly confidence, I sent the blacksmith and two other employees, with instructions to overhaul the infidel and pour out his liquors upon the ground, and if he resisted to bring him back to the agency. The order was thoroughly executed, and without resistance. I regretted to take such a course, but word had gone out over the country that the agent allowed liquor-drinking at the agency, and something more tangible than a denial became necessary to refute the scandal. It is quite important for an agent to be truthful and consistent, if he



wishes to preserve his authority and influence without question.

During this same snow, John Meacham, brother of Anson B. Meacham, afterwards Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, visited me for the purpose of ascertaining the boundary of the Umatilla Indian Reservation at Lee's Encampment, and especially if I would consider him a trespasser if he should put up a tavern on the west side of the little brook at the Encampment. My answer was, that the precise place of Lee's Encampment, a point in the reservation boundary, was in dispute without much prospect of being settled, but I could say that while I would avoid unnecessary conflicts with my fellow citizens, if his liquor business should give us trouble to such an extent as to make an exact location of boundary at that place desirable, and he should be found upon the reservation, no doubt I would pour out his liquors and confiscate his property thereon located. Presumably, this answer was not satisfactory to the Meacham Brothers, for next day Anson B. came and visited the greater part of the day, agreeing with me upon all topics of conversation, and especially was he emphatic in declaring himself as good a teetotaler as myself, but that a tavern for the accommodation of travelers must furnish everything guests called for. As to this, we did not disagree, for it was a question to be decided by himself. I could not help thinking, however, that his temperance ideas were not principles of sufficient weight to offset the profits of the trade. As respects locating upon the west side of the Encampment brook, I answered him as I had his brother, and rather than risk a decision of boundary, they bought the stand upon the east side, enlarged it to meet the public wants, and the Blue Mountain tavern, known as Meacham, had a wide and deserved popularity.

It has been said by so-called temperance fanatics, that liquor is always and everywhere an outlaw, and so far as my experience goes, the allegation is a mild and impersonal arraignment of people who engage in the liquor business. After

the erection of the Meacham tavern, there were three places on the boundary of the reservation where liquor was sold by the drink and by the bottle, and at every place, by some means and through the agency of white outlaws, Indians could obtain whiskey. The fellow who had a drinking house on the Walla Walla road, evidently located there to engage in out-lawry and, as narrated in another place, did not escape detection and punishment. Swift on the west and Meacham on the east of the reservation, both on the main line of travel between the white settlements east and west, while intending to do a legitimate business, were often the innocent instruments of transient outlaws.

In pursuance of the purpose to change the practice followed by my predecessors, of raising grain and roots to feed the Indians, several sets of new harness were bought, the plow broken upon delivery was mended, the other four were put in running order, and everything in readiness for work, as soon as the spring opened sufficiently to permit of farming operations. The superintendent of farming and the farmer were instructed to become teachers and make it their everyday business to go around among the Indians and show them how to do things, and as our means were quite limited, to have the plows and harness returned to the implement house by the user as soon as his work was finished, or delivered to the first applicant holding an order from the superintendent. In this way no time was lost, and there were no idle tools. And the strangest part of the story is, that they were used every night, when there was moonlight, during the planting season. And this latter statement applies to others than those who had some experience in farming operations.

It will be recollected that the number of acres fenced and available for cultivation was insufficient for the wants of those desiring to cultivate, and hence there was an earnest contest to obtain a piece, even a small lot of the bottom land heretofore cultivated by the employees of the Government. Complaints were made that the Cayuses were unduly favored,

and at one time serious trouble was feared from that cause, but there was an evident explanation; there was not land enough to go round, and the Cayuses were the first applicants.

From my youth I was an early riser and fond of witnessing "the daily miracle of morning," and these interviews with nature were especially beneficial and delightful at the agency. A morning walk up the river bottom, breathing the sweet, cool air that came gently down from the mountains like a living breath, and viewing the shadows of night scurrying up the canyons away from the coming Eastern Flame, was an invigorating inspiration. In one of these walks I chanced to meet an Indian family just arrived from their camp on the Too-too-willa, five miles distant, to commence a day's plowing. And the sun had not risen! Let the scoffers think of this, and hold their peace. Being desirous of seeing such an Indian at work, I halted until he had gone two rounds of his four-acre lot. I observed that he had two good horses, a new set of agency harness, and ought to be able to do satisfactory work. But he was evidently new to the business, although he turned a good furrow. Instead of using the lines, his two wives led the horses; an arrangement which saved him some trouble in learning to guide the team, though rather trying to the squaw that walked on the plowed ground. I called a halt upon that kind of proceeding, and, taking the lines, drove around for him. Then, giving him the lines, I held the plow around. Adjusting a tie in the lines to fit my back, I plowed around alone, after which I requested him to take my place, and saw him plow several times around nearly as well as an experienced plowman, at which he seemed much pleased.

This incident I related, after breakfast, to the superintendent, who assumed that the Indian had gone back to his squaw lines. He went to see, but came back acknowledging that he had been a false prophet.

To encourage the Indians and prevent inferior methods, the employees were empowered to give rewards to those skillful and obedient to instructions.

It was generally understood, from official reports of industrial conditions pertaining to the Indians of the Umatilla Agency, that what they were doing under governmental supervision and so-called assistance, was the first feeble efforts on their part to get a living by tilling the ground; but I learned that the common impression was entirely erroneous. I recall that in August, 1851, those Indians bartered to the immigrants, en route, green peas, potatoes and other vegetables. I have no knowledge as to the time or means of their beginning such cultivation, but presume that Dr. Whitman, as early as 1840, began the work which was really interrupted by the Government when it located an agency on the Umatilla, more than twenty years later. Certain it is that the best and largest and most available part of the alluvial land was usurped by the agents, with the best intentions probably, but resulting in converting into lookers-on those who had been, for at least twenty years, cultivators of the soil.

On my return from the afore-mentioned walk, I visited a little patch of alluvial, maybe an acre in extent, completely enclosed by a natural hedge of willow, alder and balm, matted together with briars and underbrush, growing in a narrow channel, formed by overflow of the Umatilla River. In this sequestered spot, some half-dozen old and cast-off women, called by the Indians, low-ee-ii, had pitched their conical tents, constructed of poles and whatever they could get for a covering—pieces of rawhide with the hair on, fragments of tent cloth thrown away by the immigrants or soldiers, old blankets, shawls, or almost anything that would contribute to shelter their wrinkled skins and pinched bodies.

Let no one smile, either through pity or disdain, at such apparent want and evident isolation. Firewood in abundance was at their hand, in the dead branches of trees studded too closely to maintain their verdure in the irrigated trough wherein they grew, and which furnished pure water, as well as trout and salmon that an opulent city-bred epicure might desire in vain. And that stoneless patch of black alluvial,

every foot of which was cultivated by hand, yielded them everything which the unpurged human appetite might crave. Vegetables, roots and fruits in profusion, and some for sale to yield them in moderation of the white man's delicacies for the table, flour, sugar, coffee, besides clothes to cover their nakedness.

Poor old squaws! Cast off when they were no longer able to perform the demanded drudgery or young enough to stimulate the waning, fleshly desires of their lords; need any one pity them? No, indeed; for I perceived that, so far as rational existence and happiness concerned them, they were in a most enviable position.

Independent, self-sustaining, mutually assisting, time for rest and recreation, what more could these faded flowers of an unprogressive race need? Surely, in all their lives, they had not been so free in body and mind as then, albeit the rapturous days of youth had long since departed. And while they were shrunken in body, their sympathies were expansive as in youth, and if Goethe's famous apothegm be adopted as truth, maybe their altruism had increased with their years, for along with them, and clinging to them like the ivy to the leafless oak, were four homeless girls from eight to twelve years of age, the veritable flotsam of barbarism, they had picked up and brought to their asylum.

And while upon this topic, it is well enough to remark concerning the habit of those Indians and other tribes, of "marshing" (ejecting) their wives when, from age or other cause, they cease to be profitable or attractive. Presumably this is analogous to the enlightened white man's divorce court, though rather more one-sided, as the "marshing" is by the male who has the muscle to support his orders.

Many Indians keep their aged and worn wives, but take younger ones to supplement the former's deficiencies. In many such instances the supplanted wives, from choice, become hangers-on to affectionate relatives or betake themselves to the society of the low-ee-ii.



It is nothing new under the sun, whether in societies called civilized, enlightened or barbarous, that the principal victims of abnormal social conditions stoutly resist any project of reform.

At the South, the "poor whites," whose non-progressive condition could not be remedied while negro slavery remained, were the chief defense and support of the institution and resisted every attempted emancipation.

Among the North American Indians, custom made the Indian woman a veritable slave. She was the worker; the male was the drone. A great part of the service necessary to clothe and feed the family was performed by her. He might kill the game and catch the fish, but all, after that, was done by the woman. Preparing the skins for clothing, making the garments, cleaning, drying and storing the meat, picking the berries, digging the roots, moving the camp and erecting the lodges; gathering, breaking up or cutting and carrying the fuel, and much more, fell to the lot of the woman. Is it to be wondered at that she was old and worn in body, while young in years? Humane agents of the government frequently undertook the task of remedying such inequality, but generally with little success, for the reason that the squaws rejected any proffered assistance that would detract from the dignity of their husbands.

Fuel, consisting of fagots and the fallen limbs of trees, broken up by the squaws with stones or over their knees, was carried by them in large conical baskets, supported on their backs and held there by straps or thongs passing over their shoulders and across their foreheads, a service which was very trying and destructive to them.

This custom General Joel Palmer, when agent at the Siletz in the year 1872, tried to abolish, and it was really amusing to witness the indignation of the human beasts of burden, that the agent should compel their male relatives to use the department wagons and teams to haul wood like white men. One brave, to show General Palmer how his order was appreciated,

dressed up in war paint and feathers and accompanied his squaw to the woods, where she filled her basket with fagots, high above the brim, and hoisting it upon her back, passed the agent's house, her husband dancing around her and uttering war whoops to attract attention to this spectacular protest against an innovation degrading to aboriginal society. In company with General Palmer I was a witness to the scene, and so far as we could observe, the carrier of the burden was equally exultant with her far more powerful master. Such an incident broadened our vision as to the philosophy of conservatism in humanity, but it did not deter the agent from enforcing his edict by lectures, reprehensions and rewards. He summoned all the Indians in council and with the help of the doctor explained the evil effects of such burden-bearing upon the health and happiness of the Indian woman, the principal victim, and how through her the welfare of the whole family was injured by sickness, impoverishment, and premature death. The most effective weapon, however, the agent could wield against the custom was in the shape of rewards—to the squaw, a new fire-red dress, to compensate for her wounded pride; to the buck, an extra allowance of annuity goods commensurate with his loss of dignity by hauling wood. If we want to succeed in reforming whites or Indians, selfishness must be pitted against selfishness.

At the Umatilla, agents found the same hindrances to improvement, and while the males might be brought to the plow and harrow, gardening was the work of the female, as it probably had been, notwithstanding the teachings and example of Dr. Whitman. The principal hindrance to agricultural pursuits by the American aborigines lay in their false notions of honor and consequence attaching to the male. He was, first of all, a warrior, a brave, a hunter of wild and dangerous animals; a differentiation perfectly natural and necessary in the militant state, for the male of all species is physically stronger, more combative and hence more courageous than the female. Such was the inevitable sex-caste among primitive peoples, and it lingers among the most advanced ones.

Woman's sphere! Man's sphere! How natural the sound!

The uncivilized man thinks the female should do all things not in the heroic sphere, which service he disdains as beneath the dignity of a warrior. The civilized man thinks voting and holding office is outside of woman's sphere, because she is not, by natural aptitude, a warrior; and voting and holding office are antecedent concomitants of war.

Really, what is the difference, except in circumstances of application? The sentiment is the same, the caste of sex, which, in the case of the Indian, has been a destructive fatality. If he had not been too proud to stoop from the heroic, there was nothing in the way of his becoming an agriculturist and therefore civilized.

From the earliest accounts, we learn that the squaws were cultivators of vegetables and fruits. Away in advance of civilization, travelers found corn, melons, potatoes, etc., raised probably in imitation of the whites. But agriculture, to be successful as a dependence for a living, must be a vocation and cannot be confined to the female sex. What would become of it among the whites, if the male's sphere held him aloof from the drudgery of farming?

The first and most important thing to be done when the Federal Government commenced the agency business, was the eradication of the sex-caste, which of course could not have been done by compulsory methods, but by the stimulus of rewards.

Among the North American Indians the governmental authority for the punishment of offenses against persons or property, was exercised by the chiefs of the tribes; and if we are to credit the accounts of those in a position to know, criminal offenses were quite as rare in such rude societies as among more advanced peoples. But after the establishment of the agency system, which was, at best, an imperfect effort to change nomads to resident tillers of the soil, the morals of the Indians rapidly declined. And there were very good reasons for this retrogression. Philosophically speaking, and in the

aggregate, their environment had changed and they were not adapted to it. Although the Federal Government attempted no interference with the social and governmental habits of the tribes, of necessity the authority of the chiefs was weakened. The Indian agent was the dispenser of a government more powerful than chiefs whose subjects felt if they did not see a diversion or division of sovereignty. In fact, the agent and the chiefs must have co-operation based upon an undefined and undefinable understanding, which in the nature of things, created an observable departure from the old tribal order. The dullest "buck" could perceive that there had been a change, in which he had lost consideration and consequence with his chief, who had formerly relied upon the countenance of his people as a source of his authority. In many instances, and quite naturally, too, the agent sought to secure a peaceful administration by treating the chiefs "handsomely," thus establishing what Mr. L. D. Montgomery (before quoted) named the "subsidy plan" of running an Indian agency, which was fatal to any general improvement. It really separates the chief from his people by destroying the reciprocity of sentiment and feeling which must exist between ruler and people in all governments which are tolerable.

During my term at the Umatilla, the chiefs of the three tribes were powerless as rulers of their people. The subsidy plan had produced social disintegration and had substituted nothing as a menace to evil-doers among themselves. I had observed this soon after my arrival and talked with Howlish Wampo, Homely, and Stickas, of the propriety of having a governmental organization of all the Indians to promote their peace, but they felt their impotence even to assist.

At length, some time in March, 1863, a most atrocious murder was perpetrated at the camp of the Umatillas, by one of the young bloods of the Walla Walla tribe. He had been drinking at Swift's, a trading post located where Pendleton now stands, and passing with his comrade towards home, he committed a nameless assault upon a Umatilla woman, whose

brother came to her assistance. This timely and praiseworthy act so enraged the criminal that he plunged a knife into the bowels of the dutiful brother, who suffered excruciatingly until his death several days afterwards.

I visited him several times, in company with the post doctor, my wife, and old Stickas, and then sternly resolved to organize a system for the punishment of criminals. A day or two after the burial, I called a general meeting and stated to it the urgency of doing something to protect themselves from such outlaws. All of the chiefs and principal men were present and there was a general interchange of opinion expressive of the need of some kind of restraining government. The most noticeable feature of the meeting was the speech of Howlish Wampo, whose manner and delivery, to an eye witness, were quite impressive. Such occurrences affected him deeply and the interpreter said he made a grand speech. I could only judge of the substance after it had filtered through the brain of an uncultivated half-breed who spoke English imperfectly. It, however, showed that Howlish Wampo had been brooding vaguely over the change that had come to his people, by the advent of civilization. He engaged in retrospection and gave the conditions of the Indians before the whites came; that then crime among them was infrequent and when it did occur the chief, with the approbation of his people, promptly punished the offender.

“Now,” and he surveyed the audience with a scornful face, “the chief has no authority; nobody cares for him; the young scapegraces do not fear that he will try to punish them. The red men are not of one mind; they have lost their heart.” This last crime and all that he could recall were caused by the white man’s whiskey. “It is the white man that has brought our troubles upon us. If he had stayed in his own country, there would be no whiskey to inflame the passions of our young men and the chiefs would have retained their power. Take away the white man and give us back our roots and fish and game, then we will be content.”



That this speech was favorably received, was evident by merely inspecting the audience. I admired it myself from its ingenuity, but more from the free, fearless, but respectful manner of its delivery. It transported the older ones to the halcyon days of youth, and as I looked at aged Stickas, who was an attentive and apparently a burdened listener, I queried how he would reconcile the reactionist proposition of Howlish Wampo with the presence of Dr. Whitman, from whom he had received the Christian faith, to him more prized and priceless than the spontaneous abundance which fed their ancestors. The orator (for I must think of Howlish Wampo as an orator) had on his costly cloak, the gift of a military officer, and in my reply I included that, with many other things he had received from the whites.

“Howlish Wampo, I visited at your camp the other day and saw you eating nice biscuit, spread with butter and syrup, and drinking coffee with sugar and cream; you had plates, knives, forks and spoons; your family had axes to chop their wood, which was hauled on a wagon; your wife was wearing fine woven garments and you had on pants, coat, shirt and cloak, and none of these comfortable, convenient, and now necessary things would you have if it were not for the white man. Just think of it! Take away the things the white man brought you and see how you would be left. You would have to give up that cloak, your hat, coat, shirt, stockings, and put on skins. The fine military saddle and bridle the officer gave you, would have to go. There would be no more raised superfine flour biscuit and your wife and children would have to go to the camas grounds again. You could hunt with bows and arrows as of old and expect to get one deer for every section of land, but now, with the means the white man has provided, you can depend upon getting a hundred times as much meat on a section. Now, looking the subject all over, are you willing to give up all these good things and the practicability of many more from the same source, in order to be freed from the white man’s whiskey? There is a proper use for whiskey,

when that too is an advantage coming from the white man. Your young men must not drink it, for that is an abuse. The white man's sharp, serviceable knife is good, but it is not properly used when you cut each other's throats. You cannot go backwards and you had better go forward. Better imitate the white man in the matter of law, and have police officers and courts, and when one of your number commits a crime or misdemeanor, have him arrested, tried and punished. That is a better way than to leave such things to the will or judgment of a chief."

Howlish Wampo made no additional remarks, but Stickas made an impressive speech, confirming my opinion, and offered to assist the agent in organizing a government.

The carousing, reckless class, composed mostly of young men, were very much opposed to any sort of government, and the murderer went so far in opposition as to assault Homely on his return from the meeting.

Mr. Barnhart, after fixing up his affairs in Washington, returned and resumed his agency at the beginning of the third quarter of 1863, so the intended government did not go into effect.

Among the many stipulations contained in the treaty with the three tribes at the Umatilla, was one promising a salary of \$500.00 a year to the head chief of each tribe. Likely, one reason for this promise was to secure the influence of the chief in making the treaty, and in controlling his people afterwards. Whatever the reason in the minds of the honorable men who negotiated the treaty on the part of the Government, the salary was a good introduction to the subsidy plan and its demoralization. When I paid Howlish Wampo's salary for the first quarter of 1863, I thought best to explain why the Government had agreed to pay it; that it was not intended as a bribe or corruption fund, but for a good and wholesome purpose in which his people might be beneficiaries; that as chief of the Cayuses he was expected to spend some time and perform active service in overseeing his people, keeping him-

self informed as to their condition and wants, and in studying how best to distribute and apply the means afforded by the Government, as well as to assist in preserving the peace. I tried to show him the importance of his position and that he could do more to make the reservation system a success than the agent. When the chief does all this, he will have richly earned his salary and every Cayuse will get his share of it. The money paid him was green-backs, and as he held the bills in his hands slowly looking them over, he was laughing and talking in low tones to the interpreter. "What pleases Howlish Wampo this morning?" I asked.

"Why, he says this is the only salary ever paid to him."

"What! does he say that in earnest?"

"Yes."

"Antoine, ask him for me this question: 'Did Agent Barnhart or Mr. Abbott ever pay you any part of your salary?'"

Howlish Wampo answered, "Way-toh." I understood it to mean no, and the interpreter said that Howlish Wampo answered in the negative.

Pierre, or Meanatete, the salaried chief of the Walla Wallas, was a pleasant, gabby, drinking, full-blood Indian, who had associated with the French traders enough to speak the language as it was used by the Canadians, but he had no following and influence with his tribe, which was controlled by Homely, of whom I have spoken upon former pages. Whether he or Winam Snoot, the Umatilla chief, had been paid any portion of their salaries, I never asked and never learned.

"How little people in general know of the Indian character," I often exclaimed after a nine months' service at the Umatilla. Previously, I was full of false notions concerning Indians, though I knew or rather judged that the common estimate was far from the truth. To speak of chastity as being more than an exception among Indian women would raise a laugh in any American community, and the persons holding to such an opinion would be considered very generous or very green; but I found, after a fair inquiry, that unchastity among

Indian women is the exception, as it is among the whites, and the exceptions were to be met with, as a rule, among those families that hung about the towns and made a hap-hazard living in contact with civilization. It is well known by critical inquirers into the causes of social deterioration of every grade that it varies with the intensity of the struggle for existence. The stress and tug of living was not so extreme among the Cayuses, and the Cayuse women were in the main above suspicion. Eneas's family of the Walla Wallas were well-to-do farmers, having good log houses, orchards and fields, and the girls were chaste and orderly members of the Catholic denomination. As I have stated in preceding pages, not all the Indians, even with what assistance the Government rendered, could support themselves upon the reservation, and so from necessity, if not from choice, some of the Walla Wallas got their support in and about the town of that name, and a part of the Umatillas picked up a living along the Columbia River above and below the mouth of the Umatilla. It was among such remnants, always hard pressed for a living, that lascivious white men learned of the unchastity of squaws.

# FINANCIAL HISTORY OF OREGON.

## PART TWO.

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### FINANCES OF THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD, 1849-1859.

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#### *General Conditions Affecting Territorial Finances.*

The situation with regard to the management of the public purse in Oregon was radically changed with the arrival, on March 2, 1849, of General Joseph Lane, the first Territorial Governor, appointed in pursuance of the act of Congress of August 14, 1848, organizing the Territory. The sources of revenue, the custody and administration of the public funds and the authorities supervising the disbursement of them, exhibit some features quite in contrast to those that obtained under the regime of the Provisional Government.

The exchange of the make-shift autonomy of the Provisional Government period for the more dependent status of a Territory brought with it two new sources of revenue for the creation of public institutions and the support of public services. In this matter the Oregon people fared, of course, much as did other peoples passing through the territorial stage. In addition to the single revenue source of tax receipts of the former period, funds were now forthcoming directly from the national treasury through Congressional appropriations and also from the proceeds of the sales of lands granted to the Territory for educational purposes.

The national appropriations met in full the cost of the maintenance of the civil establishment of the Territory, *i. e.* the salaries of the executive, the legislative and the judiciary officials, and also provided for the creation of a territorial library and the construction of a penitentiary and a state



house. The new departure of granting section thirty-six, as well as section sixteen, of each township of the public domain for the creation of a common school fund was inaugurated by Congress in the organization of Oregon Territory. The usual two-township grant was also made to aid in the establishment of a university.<sup>1</sup> It was thus left to the people of the Territory to have recourse to the usual forms of taxation only for means necessary to administer the laws made by the territorial legislature.

The funds from these several sources were in the custody of and under the control of different officials. The Governor mediated in the application of the appropriations for the territorial library and the public buildings;<sup>2</sup> the Secretary of the Territory, also holding his position through appointment by the national executive, administered, under the strict surveillance of a United States treasury official, the funds for the support of the civil establishment; while those obtained through taxation and from the sale of territorial school and university lands were in the hands of the Territorial Auditor and Territorial Treasurer. These two officials were elected annually by the Legislative Assembly.

There were thus three main sources of territorial revenues: Congressional appropriations, proceeds from the sales of educational land grants, and revenues from taxation—the Congressional appropriations being administered by officials responsible to federal authorities, while revenues from taxation and from the sale of territorial school and university lands

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1 While small sums accumulated during this period both for the common school fund and for the university fund, the income from neither of them was made to serve its purpose until after the period of statehood. An abortive effort was made to utilize the university fund.

2 Congress regularly deputed to the territorial legislature to select, with the concurrence of the Governor, the places where the institutions and public buildings were to be located. The Oregon legislature did not proceed in this matter with the deference to Governor Gaines that was consonant with his joint authority so his refusal to recognize its omnibus location act as a law of the Territory engendered such fierce factional strife that it was afterwards referred to as the "location war."

were in the hands of territorial officials amenable directly or indirectly to the people.

But a military establishment and the conduct of military operations involving necessarily more burdensome expenditures than those for civil affairs were less adequately provided for. The situation of the Oregon community was such that no system of garrisoning practicable with detachments from the national standing army could have sufficed for adequate protection against the Indians. There was recurring and exigent need throughout most of this period in this section for instant movements for the summary suppression of Indian outbreaks—campaigns for which the volunteer forces commonly alone were available, and for which they were always indispensable. The isolated Oregon community in the early fifties was scattered from the headwaters of the Willamette to the southern shores of Puget Sound. Soon there were lone settlers along the trail to California and outlying hamlets at the newly discovered gold diggings. A thin line of settlements at least five hundred miles in length was thus exposed to the depredations of infuriated tribes. For it was hemmed in on the landward side by a broad semicircular belt of Indian territory. This included on the south the valleys of the Umpqua, the Coquille, the Rogue and Klamath rivers; on the east the lower Snake and its tributaries and the upper Columbia; on the north the basin and islands of the Sound. This vast area was infested with proud and, in some cases at least, treacherous tribes of red men. At any rate, the resentful spirit of any race of men would have been aroused by the great annual autumnal processions of immigrants that moved through this territory along the Oregon and California trails, and by the constant overland travel and traffic between Oregon and California that grew up with the development of gold mining activity, and later there were bold incursions into and encroachments upon these Indian preserves, induced by reports of new Eldorados found. The feelings such racial pressure would arouse in the hearts of these tribes, who saw

their patrimony vanishing, were inflamed by the insult and outrage of characters of which no community is entirely rid. Local outbreaks in 1853 and 1854 in the Rogue River Valley and along the Snake, were followed in 1855 by a concerted movement, including nearly all the tribes, to dislodge the white man from his foothold in the Pacific Northwest.<sup>3</sup>

Several circumstances conspired to throw the burden of this struggle between the races in this region during the territorial decade upon the volunteer forces of the settlers drawing their support from the resources of the home community alone. The regiment of national troops that should have arrived in time to forestall the Cayuse outbreak of 1847, came straggling across the plains in the late fall of 1849. And such a sorry spectacle did it make a few months later, because of wholesale desertions due to the craze for gold mining in California, and so without tact was it handled among the proud-spirited frontiersmen, that their delegate requested the withdrawal of all federal troops. This was complied with. So, when the storm of Indian fury broke anew, it found this community again without national protection.<sup>4</sup> After fighting her own battles some four years, a small force of national troops was again on the scene, but its presence amounted to little more than a nullity for relieving the Oregonians of the burdens of defense. The commander of the national regiment took the position that his main duty was to protect the Indians against settlers. With such a degree of estrangement there was little co-operation in a large task.<sup>5</sup>

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3 Beginning with the fall of 1850, there had been minor depredations and encounters each year, especially along the trail to California and on the southwest coast.—Victor's Early Indian Wars of Oregon, pp. 267-307.

4 Op. cit., pp. 267-306.

5 The reports to the Secretary of War of the operations during these years teem with communications of crimination and recrimination. The following from the message of Governor George L. Curry to the Oregon Legislative Assembly on December 10, 1856, indicates somewhat of the feeling and situation. (Governor Curry, though an appointee of the President, kept the confidence of the people and their military operations were regular and under his general orders.) He says: "The inactive and imbecile policy pursued by the officer commanding

The provision for the support of these campaigns against the Indians, repeated during half-a-dozen years, does not connect itself directly with the public financiering in Oregon Territory, but the settlement of the claims growing out of these wars—in so far as there was any reimbursement to private individuals for their services and supplies contributed and losses sustained—forms a part of the national finances. Yet the realization that the Oregon community was under this stress during this period is necessary for a true appreciation of the territorial finances proper. For this reason it seemed advisable to dwell upon this aspect of the situation.

The cost of these military operations by the Oregon volunteers bulks very large in comparison with the outlays for civil affairs during this period.<sup>6</sup> A sketch of the history of

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the United States troops, upon the Pacific Coast, at a very critical juncture, and his more reprehensible conduct in the vindictive efforts he has made, through the press, and by his letters and reports at Washington, to asperse and malign the people of the Territory, may have had a tendency to prejudice them against the army. This valuable arm of the public service, which is designed for the protection of the country, and to assure the lives and property of those who deem it a duty to support it, has always enjoyed a high reputation for efficiency and gallantry, and I have no doubt under the command of other than superannuated officers, will continue to maintain its brilliant character. I have heretofore acknowledged its valuable aid, before its operations were controlled by a commanding officer whose headquarters were in an adjoining State, remote from the theatre of war. Oppressed by the deepest anxiety, on account of the grave accusations, so unwarrantably made, against the people of the Territory, in which I was charged with the grossest violation of right, I deemed it my duty to visit the seat of our national government, and confuting those accusations and charges, to know wherein we did wrong in defending ourselves from Indian aggression and barbarity."—Appendix to Journal of House of Representatives, Territory of Oregon, Eighth Session, 1856-7, pp. 4-5.

How the prejudice, of those who took the other side in this controversy, was created is indicated in statements of so representative an Oregon pioneer as Jesse Applegate. In his "Views of Oregon History" he speaks of the ruthlessness with which the Indians were sometimes treated, particularly by bands of miners. He holds that it was regularly observed that when water for washing the gold-bearing gravel became scarce and mining unprofitable, the miners would turn to killing Indians as a more lucrative employment. The United States had been liberal with compensation for services and supplies contributed during the Cayuse War so the miners, he suggests, were not disinclined to provoke the Indians to another contest in expectation of a like liberal reimbursement from the national treasury.

<sup>6</sup> An auditing commission appointed in pursuance of an act of Congress made these claims amount to \$6,011,497.36.



the Oregon Indian war claims is given in the Appendix to this presentation of the territorial finances.

*Characterization of the Public Spirit and Activities of this Period.*

It was hardly to be expected that the Oregon people of this period would overlook the sums placed to their credit at Washington by the Congressional appropriations for a territorial library, for a penitentiary, and for a state house, as well as the annual sums available for salaries of Oregon officials. Yet we shall see that they were slow in availing themselves of even some of these money grants and equally deliberate in accepting and selecting their educational lands. But when it came to putting into operation a financial system of their own for the collection and disbursement of territorial revenues the records indicate that naturally there was still more dilatoriness. The territorial treasury was largely a myth during the first three years of this period. While the wheels of the territorial government were started on March 3, 1849, and the territorial legislature met in its first session on the 16th of July following, and regularly thereafter on the first Monday in December of the succeeding years, and while a Territorial Auditor and a Territorial Treasurer were elected at the first session and at each of the following regular annual sessions, nevertheless the first report from either official extant is that of the Territorial Treasurer, dated December 7, 1852.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> On July 20, 1849, the fifth day of the first session, the House of Representatives requested the Governor "to communicate to the House whether it is likely any report from the Territorial Treasurer or Auditor may be expected; if not, that he be requested to cause such report to be made."

Six days later the following reply was received from the Governor: "I have delayed responding to the call made upon me by the House, relative to the reports from the Secretary of the Treasury and Auditor of the Territory, for the purpose of giving time to the gentleman who has charge of the office of the treasury, in the absence of that officer, to make his report. I have the honor of now being able to inform the House, that the report will be complete in the course of this day, and will then be forwarded to the House."

However, as the compiler of the printed "archives" did not include the portion of the House Journal covering this date, but reported that it could "not be found," and as search among the MSS. preserved does not disclose it, no light can be thrown upon the condition of the treasury at the opening of the territorial period. As the report of the Treasurer of the Provisional Govern-



The first report from a Territorial Auditor was that submitted to the House of Representatives on January 6, 1853. Thus the first financial reports were made to the legislature at its fourth regular session. It was full three years after the organization of the Territory before there was the semblance of a treasury department in operation.

At the close of this period of ten years the sum total of treasury transactions, in which funds received as taxes from the people had been handled, amounted to \$85,464.47. Of the national appropriations for library and public buildings, \$5,000 for the library and \$5,000 for the State House were incorporated in act of August 14, 1848 organizing the Territory; \$20,000 additional for both penitentiary and State House were appropriated on June 11, 1850. On June 1, 1853, these appropriations for buildings were still intact. By the close of the territorial period national moneys to the amount of \$97,045.74 had been expended for buildings and library. Deplorably meagre was the public utility derived

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ment, on February 10, 1849, showed "scrip outstanding" to the amount of \$5,438.59, and no cash on hand, this may be taken as representing the fiscal condition at the opening of the territorial period. For an account of the disposition of this indebtedness, see *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, pp. 372-3.

The Territorial Treasurer, in this initial report, naively says: "The undersigned would further report to your honorable body, that he has written to the Hon. W. W. Buck, ex-Treasurer of the Territory, requesting him to send books, moneys, and seal of the Territory, in his possession, to this office. But as yet, no answer has been received, although a sufficient time has elapsed since making the request. In consequence of this, your Treasurer has neither books or seal in his possession, belonging to the Territory."

The Auditor, in his report for the same year, likewise reports that although the law forming the basis of the treasury department had been passed September 29, 1849 (more than three years before), and this law had made it the duty of the clerk of the probate court in each county to transmit to the Auditor of Public Accounts certified copies of assessment rolls, upon which to open an account between the Territory and the several counties, and to charge county treasurers with amounts due the Territory, he could find in the archives of his office returns for only three counties for 1850 and for five counties for 1851. He goes on to say that "further information was attempted to be gained, in reference to the present condition of our revenues, from the Auditor's account with the various counties of the Territory; but, owing to some unaccountable neglect or casualty, no such account could be found among the records. The present Auditor was therefore compelled to institute original inquiries for such information as he has been able to present." The fiscal hiatus between the period of the Provisional Government and the Territory was complete.

from this expenditure. The site of the penitentiary was utterly unfit and the structures erected on it sufficed for the safe detention of only a half-dozen convicts, and not at all for their employment. A change of location was regarded by every one as inevitable and was put off a few years only because of the cost it involved. A fire, that occurred under suspicious circumstances, consumed both library and State House, just when they were for the first time being brought into full use. Of the former at the close of this period there was a nucleus of about a thousand volumes, mainly exchanges, and of the latter a heap of charred debris.

Through the sale of school lands a net common school fund of \$32,424.74 had been accumulated.<sup>8</sup> The administrative cost of making this accumulation had been \$1,411.57. A university fund of \$5,465.40 was on hand. The securing of this amount had entailed an expenditure of \$6,885.27.<sup>9</sup>

The above financial showings would seem to demonstrate that the zeal for the promotion of the commonweal in civil affairs was little in evidence. On the other hand, ardor for public safety and sacrifice for the defense of the lives and property of isolated and exposed families and communities from a savage foe shine brightly throughout the period. The first report of a depredation always elicited a prompt and patriotic response in succor and relief. It was for constructive acts of state-building that the civic sense was almost absolutely wanting.

The dissipation of fiscal resources betrays the partisan, sectional and personal interests in the saddle. Faith in the efficacy of governmental agency in promoting the general welfare was weak. Individualism was rampant. This aspect of the public affairs of this period is not necessarily to be interpreted as indicating an inherent warping of the public mind and conscience. A combination of conditions existed

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<sup>8</sup> To this sum is to be added the small amounts just accumulated in the different county treasuries to the credit of the school fund but not reported.

<sup>9</sup> This includes expense of abortive building operations at Corvallis.

under which the most patriotic might have evinced similar delinquencies in the appreciation of civic interests and disparagement of the utility of public agencies in promoting common good. The negative results from the national appropriations and resources granted, however, are so strikingly complete and unique as to warrant a reference to influencing conditions.

Among the foremost deterrents to vigorous community effort in civil affairs was the distraction of recurring Indian outbreaks and the exhausting campaigns conducted in suppressing them. There was, too, the insuperable obstacle to social co-operation and activity in the upbuilding of institutions that inhered in the fact that the section of land was regularly the farm unit. Such spacious domains, with little capital and primitive implements of husbandry, meant only isolation and possible social reversion. Had they been ambitiously disposed towards the undertaking of public works they would have found their hands tied in the prohibitions which the Organic Act placed upon the powers of their legislature.<sup>10</sup> The fact that the appointees to the governorship

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10 There was the usual requirement that all acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory must have the approval of Congress. It was further provided, "That nothing in this act shall be construed to give power to incorporate a bank, or any institution with banking powers, or to borrow money in the name of the Territory, or to pledge the faith of the people of the same for any loan whatever, either directly or indirectly. No charter granting any privilege of making, issuing, or putting into circulation any notes or bills in the likeness of bank notes, or any bonds, scrip, drafts, bills of exchange or obligations, or granting any other banking powers or privileges, shall be passed by the Legislative Assembly; nor shall the establishment of any branch or agency of any such corporation, derived from other authority, be allowed in said Territory; nor shall said Legislative Assembly authorize the issue of any obligation, scrip, or evidence of debt by said Territory, in any mode or manner whatever, except certificates for services to said Territory; all such laws, or any law or laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act, shall be null and void; and all taxes shall be equal and uniform, and no distinction shall be made in the assessments between different kinds of property, but the assessments shall be according to the value thereof. To avoid improper issuance, which may result from intermixing in one and the same act such things as have no proper relation to each other, every law shall embrace but one subject, and that shall be expressed in the title."—An Act to Establish the Territorial Government of Oregon, Section 6, in Oregon Statutes, Second Session, 1850-51, p. 40.

were in two instances men of a party, or a wing of a party, having but a small following among the people evoked jealous concern for party advantage rather than whole-hearted zeal for the common good.<sup>11</sup> All these conditions, however, only favored a more pronounced exhibition of the ultra-individualism that characterized the period. The average Oregonian of this time represented the longest series of generations who had lived under frontier conditions and in whom, therefore, this attitude had become ingrained as a matter of second nature. It meant no doubt, on the whole, adaptation as the conditions then were, but with the environment transformed, traits so firmly fixed might easily become a handicap.

This condition of minimum, and almost negative, public finances has its drawbacks for one who would set the facts of the period in order. The disparaging attitude towards civic affairs would naturally yield hiatuses in the financial records. Slipshod performances and irregular conditions would be tolerated, furnishing tangles to be straightened out. Lack of development and system in the records necessitate endless labors of classification and segregation of items to make them in any degree significant.<sup>12</sup> Little was felt to be at stake in the operations of the territorial treasury, so there was no stimulus to make the system of accounting give real publicity.

#### *Vital and Economic Conditions.*

A resume of the operations of a treasury can have significance only as brought into relation with the concomitant vital and economic conditions affecting the population concerned. In the decade from 1850 to 1860 the population of Oregon was very nearly quadrupled. It increased from 13,294 to 52,465, or 294.65 per cent. Only Minnesota and California had a higher rate of increase. Of this increase 16,564 were born in

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11 John P. Gaines, Whig, August, 1850-May, 1853; John W. Davis, Democrat, December, 1853-August, 1854.

12 The reports of the Territorial Auditors and Treasurers on the side of "disbursements" are merely unclassified lists of warrants drawn and warrants paid. There is no segregation as to objects supported, no "appropriations" and no "funds."

Oregon and 30,474 had migrated hither from other States;<sup>13</sup> 1,346 meanwhile removed out of the Territory—mainly to California and Washington Territory. California's main loss was also to Oregon. There was a smaller representation of the foreign element among the Oregon population than in any other Northern State. The influx to Oregon had been mainly from Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, New York and Iowa. The new-comers had availed themselves of the opportunity to get land afforded by the "Donation Act" of September 27, 1850. This law, designed to reward the settlers of Oregon for Americanizing the Pacific Coast, gave 320 acres each to husband and wife if the man had arrived in Oregon by December, 1850, and made his application as a married citizen before December, 1851. From this date down to December, 1855, each family had a right to 320 acres.<sup>14</sup>

Of the nine new counties organized during this period, those that represented expansions of the settled area covered mainly the upper Willamette Valley and the valleys of the Umpqua and Rogue rivers. But the larger portion of the new population had found homes by occupying vacant spaces around the earlier centers of settlement. The main towns were on the Willamette River. Portland was already well in the lead.

The average size of the farms was, under the bounty of the national government, large. Only the haciendas of California and the plantations of a few of the Southern States averaged so large.<sup>15</sup>

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13 The nativities of the Oregon population in 1850 and in 1860 from leading States are as follows:

	1850.	1860.
Missouri .....	2,206	5,695
Illinois .....	1,023	3,805
Indiana .....	739	2,497
Kentucky .....	730	2,208
Ohio .....	653	3,285
New York .....	618	2,206
Iowa .....	432	2,116

14 The grant to a single man or single woman above eighteen years of age was in each case half of the amount given a family.—Donation Act, Section 4 and 7 Wall., 219.

15 The average size of the farms was 372 acres.



The value of real estate and personal property during this decade increased five-fold. Only in Iowa, California, Texas and Wisconsin had there been a larger percentage of increase.<sup>16</sup> The production of wheat, flour, live stock and wool had increased proportionately with the population.<sup>17</sup> Other manufactures than lumber and flour on any considerable scale were yet to appear.<sup>18</sup> Unimproved highways, with ferries for crossing the streams and the rivers, were the main reliance for transportation.<sup>19</sup> But the steamboat largely displaced the sloop and the flatboat on the one and the stage-coach and pack-train the universal horseback travel on the other.<sup>20</sup> Only 3.8 miles of railroad at the Cascade transit around the rapids in the Columbia gorge had been built.<sup>21</sup> No Oregon banks are listed in the United States census returns of 1860.<sup>22</sup>

The decade opened with strongly stimulating conditions for Oregon industry in the circumstance of a large and rapidly growing mining community in California largely dependent upon the Oregon community for its foodstuffs and lumber supplies. There was also the additional influence due to the importation of a large volume of money material by the Oregonians returning from these mines.<sup>23</sup> Before the middle of

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16 The value of real estate and personal property was as follows: In 1850, \$5,063,474; in 1860, \$28,930,637.

17 The fruit industry, especially with apples, developed rapidly during this decade, under the stimulus of fabulous prices received in California.—Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. II, pp. 257-8.

18 The beginnings of woolen mills are to be found at Albany, Salem and Oregon City from the middle of the decade on.—Op. cit., p. 338.

19 The first considerable bridge was built across the Yamhill river at Lafayette in 1851.—Oregon Statesman, September 23, 1851.

20 An abortive effort was made to establish telegraphic communication with California about the middle of this decade.—Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. II, p. 339.

21 Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, p. 229.

22 See prohibitions put upon the powers of the Legislative Assembly of Oregon regarding the chartering of banks in the Organic Act. The ordinary commercial functions of banking were carried on by both home and foreign concerns.

23 Governor Lane in his first message to the legislature estimates that upwards \$2,000,000 had been brought the first year from California to Oregon by returning miners.—Executive Record MS.

the decade, however, the inevitable reaction from such over-excitement had brought on hard times. California, too, had begun the development of her own supplying industries. The condition of Oregon henceforth for a generation was that of a community rich in undeveloped resources where the means for a rude existence are easy, but which was without the salutary influence of neighboring communities of advanced activities and conditions of life. To the mines opened up in new localities were shipped the products of farm and ranch. The gold received in return was paid out for imported staples. In the course of years this system of circulation seemed to drain their coffers lower and lower. It was not laying the foundation for a permanently progressive community. The wiser heads were urging the introduction of manufactures.<sup>24</sup>

## II.

### *Public Expenditures of National Funds.*

Special Appropriations.—The civil law and order secured through the agency of the Provisional Government had been paid for by the Oregon people without any aid from outside sources. When, however, the authority of the officials of that government came to an end early in 1849, a large part of the fiscal burden for the civil establishment, as is the rule under a territorial organization, was assumed by the federal treasury. The appropriations by Congress for Oregon Territory were disbursed through two distinct agencies. The special appropriations for the creation of a territorial library, for the building of a penitentiary and for a state house, were audited by the successive governors. Those to meet the current expenses in maintaining the different departments of the government passed through the hands of the Secretary of the Territory.

The Territorial Library.—The five-thousand-dollar appropriation for a territorial library incorporated in the act organizing the Territory<sup>25</sup> was quite naturally placed at the

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<sup>24</sup> See Messages of Governor Whiteaker.

<sup>25</sup> Statutes of Oregon, Second Session, p. 46.

command of the newly appointed governors as soon as they qualified, and while yet in the East, so that they could more conveniently make suitable purchases of books. The record of the disbursement of this library fund is found in communications by Governors Lane and Gaines, respectively, in response to resolutions by the Territorial House of Representatives inquiring as to what disposition had been made of this money.

On July 26, 1849, Governor Lane, in reply to the request made on the fifth day of the first session of the first House, said "that books to the amount of two thousand dollars have been purchased in New York, and shipped for Oregon last winter, and that the balance of the appropriation will be applied, as provided by law of Congress."<sup>26</sup> On December 8, 1852, Governor Gaines had a similar inquiry made of him, to which he responded as follows: "I received from the treasury of the United States, \$3,000.00, which was [in]vested in books and maps, and placed in a room fitted up for the purpose in Oregon City, and delivered nearly two years since to Mr. J. Turner, the librarian elected by the Legislative Assembly, together with a catalogue of the entire purchase, since which time I have exercised no control whatever over the library." A voucher from the Comptroller of the Treasury accompanied this statement.<sup>27</sup>

In the quarrel between Governor Gaines and the territorial legislature over the validity of the act of the latter locating the seat of government, the penitentiary, and the territorial university, the retention of the library at Oregon City—the original seat of government—is made a subject of complaint by the legislature in its memorial to Congress in December, 1851.<sup>28</sup> In this memorial the legislature asked for permission for themselves to elect their Governor, Secretary and judges.

The first accessions to the library were largely general and law miscellany. Law reports and State and National docu-

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<sup>26</sup> House Journal, First Session, p. 82.

<sup>27</sup> Appendix to House Journal, Fourth Session, pp. 7-8.

<sup>28</sup> Appendix to House Journal, Third Session, pp. 1-6.

ments were added through exchanges. At the beginning of the year 1855 it contained some 1,750 volumes. The next report of the librarian, made on January 3, 1856, a few days after the total destruction of the State House, to which the library had just been moved, says, "all the books, except the few which had been drawn out for use, were destroyed with the Capitol."<sup>29</sup> The first report of the State Librarian in 1860 gives the number of volumes as 1,027. This represented the accumulation through exchanges during five years, and an addition made by the use of a \$500 appropriation of Congress.<sup>30</sup> This purchase was made by Governor Curry while on a visit East in 1856.

Funds for the maintenance of the library were regularly obtained out of appropriations by Congress for the contingent expenses of the Territory. The National Government thus not only equipped this institution, but also supported it though the territorial legislature exercised complete authority in the way of electing the librarians, requiring reports, fixing the amount of his salary,<sup>31</sup> and designating the quarters for the books.

The Territorial Penitentiary.—At the December session, 1844, of the Legislative Committee of the Provisional Government, \$1,500 were appropriated from the escheat funds of the Ewing Young estate for the construction of a log jail at Oregon City, to serve as a territorial penitentiary.<sup>32</sup> The building erected with these funds was burned down on August

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<sup>29</sup> The Capitol was destroyed on the night of December 29, 1855.—Appendix to House Journal, Seventh Session, p. 164.

<sup>30</sup> Appendix to House Journal, First Session, pp. 1-5. On January 30, following the destruction of the library, the legislature, in a memorial to Congress, asked for \$20,000 for another library.

<sup>31</sup> The salary of the librarian was \$250 until 1855, when it was raised to \$500.

<sup>32</sup> Oregon Archives, p. 68.

18, 1846.<sup>33</sup> The Territory was then for some seven years without a building in which to incarcerate its convicted felons. Convicts sentenced to imprisonment in the territorial penitentiary were either farmed out to private individuals,<sup>34</sup> kept at the Columbia Barracks at Vancouver,<sup>35</sup> or at the county jails.<sup>36</sup>

In the second session (1850) after that providing for the organization of the Territorial Government, Congress appropriated \$20,000 for the erection of a penitentiary at such place as they (the Governor and legislature) might select.<sup>37</sup> Four years later, 1854, an additional appropriation of \$40,000 was received—making in all \$60,000 for this purpose.<sup>38</sup>

On February 1, 1851, in one of the first conspicuous instances in which the location of public institutions was clearly effected through "log rolling," the Legislative Assembly in one measure located the capital at Salem, the penitentiary at

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33 Oregon Archives, p. 162. Governor Abernethy, in his message to the legislature on December 2, 1846, says: "I regret to be compelled to inform you that the jail erected in Oregon City, and the property of the Territory, was destroyed by fire, on the night of the 8th of August last, the work, no doubt, of an incendiary. A reward of \$100.00 was immediately offered, but as yet the offender has not been discovered. Should you think it best to erect another jail, I would suggest the propriety of building it of large stones, clamped together. We have but little use for a jail, and a small building would answer all purposes, for many years, I have no doubt, if we should be successful in keeping ardent spirits out of the Territory."

In his message the following year Governor Abernethy again refers to this matter as follows: "There is one thing, however, needed very much, in connection with it [the Judiciary], and that is a prison. Should an offender be sentenced to imprisonment by the judge, there is no place in the Territory to confine him, and, consequently, he escapes the punishment his crimes justly merit. This should not be so, and I hope you will provide means during your present session for the erection of a jail."—Oregon Archives, p. 208.

Governor Gaines, in his message in 1850, also speaks of the necessity of providing a penitentiary for the secure confinement of the criminals.—Executive Journal, MS.

34 Auditor's Report, 1852, p. 20, Appendix to House Journal.

35 Appendix to House Journal, Fourth Session, p. 3.

36 Auditor's Report, 1853, Appendix to C. J., p. 144, and report of commissioners appointed to erect a penitentiary, Appendix to House Journal, Fifth Session, p. 26.

37 Executive Records MS. The appropriation was "to be expended under the orders and supervision of the Governor and Assembly."

38 Appendix to C. J., Seventh Session, p. 15.



Portland and the university at Marysville (now Corvallis.)<sup>39</sup> This act also named a board of commissioners to select a site and superintend the erection of the penitentiary. However, as this action was taken without consulting Governor Gaines, he refused to co-operate, declining to recognize the act as a law of the Territory. The terms of the law making this appropriation provided that the location of these institutions should be with the concurrence of the Governor and the money appropriated with his sanction.<sup>40</sup> Though Congress, in May, 1852, ratified the action of the territorial legislature, nothing was done by the first board of commissioners more than to select a site in South Portland, near the river. Under an act of January 28, 1853, supplementing the former and appointing a new board, construction was begun. The first appropriation did not actually become available until late in 1853. From this time on the work of construction was proceeded with.

The effort of the Oregon Territorial Government to provide itself with a penitentiary, using funds supplied by the National Government, was, however, not crowned with conspicuous success. The first board actually to undertake construction was so indefinite in its first report of its financial transactions that it was required, in answer to a resolution of inquiry by the legislature, to explain each item of its accounts explicitly. Even then the legislature thought it necessary to order an investigation to determine whether there had been any illegality in the expenditures. The attorney employed by the Governor subjected all who had in any way been connected with the purchase of the site and the work of construction to questioning under oath, and submitted two suits on statements of facts and arguments against parties to whom supposedly unwarranted payments had been made. Everything was found "legal," but the penitentiary fund suffered charges for attorney's and notary's fees and other incidentals

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<sup>39</sup> Oregon Statutes, Second Session, pp. 222-3.

<sup>40</sup> Executive Record, 1849-59, MSS.

and the partisan press indulged in explicit denunciations for graft.<sup>41</sup>

Four different boards were successively placed in charge of the work of construction. The sixty-thousand-dollar fund was exhausted and some accounts left unsettled and the legislature was petitioned because of others unallowed. Meanwhile the Territory had been under the necessity of reimbursing the city of Portland for a jail destroyed while under lease to the penitentiary board as a place for the confinement of convicts pending the preparation of quarters at the new building, the convicts had been supported in idleness and numerous rewards paid for the return of those that had escaped. At the close of this period, however, there were only six cells completed that could afford any degree of security<sup>42</sup> in confining the convicts, no shops, and no grounds that could at any reasonable cost be prepared for them. The building was mislocated so that it stood in part on private property and in part in the streets of Portland. The grounds were "included in an exceedingly deep gulch or canyon." Altogether the situation was so unpromising, after the sinking of sixty thousand dollars, that the first Governor of the State and the committee appointed to investigate the matter, were constrained to recommend the abandonment of the property as a penitentiary.<sup>43</sup>

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41 Appendix to House Journal, Sixth Session, pp. 106-129; *The Oregonian*, February 4, 1854.

42 Appendix to House Journal, Ninth Session, pp. 38-41.

43 Message of Governor Whiteaker, September 24, 1860, in Appendix to C. J., First Session, pp. 23-32, and Appendix to House Journal, same session, pp. 5-12.

Those to whom the labor of the convicts had been leased during the later years of this period were coming to the legislature with pleas for reimbursement for rewards paid for the return of escaped convicts. They attributed their misfortunes to the unsuitable and inadequate sixty-thousand-dollar structure. They claimed further that there was equity in their claim of \$4,000 for outlay for "rewards for the recapture of escaped convicts," in that they were supporting the convicts for the products of their labor and thus relieving the Territory from a burden of \$23,000—the cost of the maintenance of the convicts in idleness under the old law allowing \$5.00 a week for board.

The following penitentiary statistics will help to make clearer the situation: 1853.—Two convicts were reported to be in Clark County as the whole number that belonged in the Territorial Penitentiary under the charge of the

The Territorial State House.—All territorial officials who receive their appointment from the head of the National Government are distinctively designated as "Territorial officers of the United States." Even members of the territorial legislatures who are elected by the people of the territories, but who receive their salaries and mileage from the national treasury, have, I believe, the same status of "Territorial officers of the United States." The provision of public buildings required for the accommodation of the national territorial officials is, therefore, a duty naturally assumed by Congress. The Provisional Government had not provided any public buildings, so the act organizing the Territory of Oregon had a timely provision of \$5,000 for this purpose. This sum was to be "applied by the Governor to the erection of suitable buildings at the seat of government." The section of the act containing this appropriation further provided that the Legislative Assembly should at its first session or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for the Territory, at such place as they shall deem eligible.

The expenditure of the five-thousand-dollar fund for public buildings was thus forestalled until the Legislative Assembly had selected a "seat of government." This, because of a disagreement between the two houses as to the proper place, it failed to do at its first regular session, held in the summer of

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Penitentiary Board. So a keeper was appointed, but these convicts died before they could be delivered into his hands. Three were sentenced and received during this year.

1854.—At the opening of the year three were in custody, one escaped—not recaptured; six were added, making the whole number eight. Of these three escaped but were recaptured.

1855.—Year opened with eight in custody, five new ones were received, two were discharged, and two escaped.

1856.—Year opened with nine in custody; three were discharged, and one was pardoned. Three were received, none died, and none escaped.

1857.—Number increased from eight to eighteen; during the year two were discharged, one pardoned, and fourteen admitted; none died, and one escaped.

1858.—During this year seventeen were admitted and three discharged.

From June 22, 1859, to September 10, 1860, while the institution was in charge of a sub-lessee, twenty-two escaped.

1849. This failure was repeated at a special session held the following spring.<sup>44</sup> During the second regular session, however, on February 1, 1851, an act was passed selecting not only the place to be the capital, but also others as locations for the penitentiary and the university.<sup>45</sup> The measure also constituted boards of commissioners with authority to proceed with the erection of a state house and a penitentiary. Congress had, on June 11, 1850, added \$20,000 to the Oregon public buildings fund, and a like amount was given for a penitentiary. But now it was the Governor's turn to balk. He had not been consulted in selecting the locations, whereas the language of the act making the later appropriations gave him concurrent right with the Legislative Assembly in designating these places. The Governor took the ground that the act was not a law of the Territory because it embraced more than one object, which was a violation of the Organic Act. The consequent deadlock lasted more than a year. When the time arrived for the next session of the legislature and of the Supreme Court, it found a large majority of both houses and one justice of the supreme bench assembled at the newly designated capital, while the Governor and his appointees and two judges tarried at Oregon City, the erstwhile seat or government. In May, 1852, Congress broke the deadlock by ratifying the "location law." The Governor then, thinking the matter of beginning operations with the public buildings urgent and supplementary legislation necessary, hastily called the legislature into special session, in July, 1852. The democratic legislature, however, found "no extraordinary business and nothing which might not more properly be brought forward at a regular session," and in contempt of the federal whig appointee from the East, adjourned *sine die* without action.<sup>46</sup> So it was not until nearly the close of the fourth regular session, January 22, 1853, that adequate legislation

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44 See Judge Pratt's opinion on the "Location Law," Appendix to C. J., Third Session, pp. 7-33.

45 Oregon Statutes, Second Session, pp. 222-223.

46 House Journal, Special Session, July 26, 1852, p. 17.

existed for proceeding with the expenditure of the fund for the State House.

Plans for a stone structure to cost when complete \$65,000 were adopted by the board of commissioners that was to superintend its erection.<sup>47</sup> Nearly \$10,000 were spent on a foundation,<sup>48</sup> when the legislature by resolution ordered the material of construction "changed to wood" and "the style of architecture" should be "Grecian Doric instead of the 'Ionic' as proposed by the commissioners."<sup>49</sup>

It will be remembered that the first appropriation of \$5,000 for the State House fund, made in the Organic Act, was "to be applied by the Governor," and while in successive messages he suggested the uniting of this sum with the \$20,000 to be applied in joint action with the legislature, he seemed to be driven to the necessity of proposing that special portions of the work on the building begun by the commission, such portions as had not been contracted for, should be reserved so that he under contract might apply these \$5,000. Such an arrangement was made. Half of the sum was so used and the unexpended half was after some delay turned over to the building commission. Ex-Governor Gaines was, however, subjected to the usual investigation, and the committee reported that the evidence was sufficient to satisfy it that he "never contemplated any other disposition of the remainder than that prescribed by law."<sup>50</sup>

By this rather awkward combination of efforts of a Governor and boards of commissioners named by legislatures, each assuming distinct parts of the work, the State House was after an expenditure of \$33,595.74 so far complete that the session of 1854-5 was held in it. The legislature at this same session, however, voted to "relocate and establish the seat of government at Corvallis," "a flourishing town some thirty-

47 Appendix to House Journal, Fifth Session, p. 37.

48 Appendix to House Journal, Tenth Session, p. 5.

49 Oregon Statutes, Fifth Session, 1853-4, p. 512, and Appendix to House Journal, Sixth Session, 1854-5, p. 49.

50 Appendix to House Journal, Sixth Session, 1854-5, p. 133.



five miles above and south of the original capital." In the same act of relocation it constituted a new board of commissioners "to erect suitable public buildings at the newly chosen seat of government."<sup>51</sup> But the treasury officials at Washington ruled that no money appropriated heretofore by Congress for the public buildings at Salem could be expended elsewhere; nor could any money appropriated for the mileage and pay of the members of the assembly, officers, clerks (or contingent expenses), be paid to them, or on account of contingencies, if a session should be held elsewhere than at Salem.<sup>52</sup> The legislature that convened at Corvallis on December 3, 1855, therefore, had strong inducements to return to Salem. It remained only until the 12th, when it adjourned to reconvene at Salem on the 17th. It occupied the now quite fully completed State House and ordered the territorial library brought into the new building. After five days it adjourned for the holidays, and during this holiday recess, on the night of December 29, the Capitol was entirely destroyed by fire. The circumstances were such as to arouse suspicions, but the committee appointed to investigate the matter exonerated the officers in charge of all imputations of carelessness or blame and revealed no facts warranting any assertion in regard to the origin of the fire.<sup>53</sup>

On February 17, 1855, \$27,000 had been added by appropriation to the State House fund. When accounts were closed it was found that \$18,444.26 remained unexpended of a total appropriation of \$52,000. A memorial asking for \$50,000 to be added to the amount unexpended was without result. Nor were steps taken to begin rebuilding.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Oregon Statutes, Sixth Session, 1854-5, p. 558.

<sup>52</sup> Appendix to C. J., Seventh Session, 1855-6, pp. 8-11.

<sup>53</sup> Appendix to C. J., Seventh Session, 1855-6, p. 33.

<sup>54</sup> Governor Curry, in a letter to the Secretary of the Interior of September 13, 1858, gives the cost of the State House as \$33,595.74, but in his accounts he credits the national treasury with an additional \$40.00 as the premium on a \$2,000 draft. This would make the net cost to the national government to be \$33,555.74.—Appendix to House Journal, Tenth Session, 1858-9, p. 5, and Executive Accounts, MS.

Contingent Expenses of the Executive Department.—In addition to their accounts as treasurers for the State House and the Penitentiary funds, the Territorial Governors handled a fund from the national treasury for contingent expenses. The Organic Act appropriated \$1,500 annually for these “contingent expenses of the Territory, including the salary of a clerk of the executive department.”

The record for the accounts of this fund are not to be found in the State Archives for the period prior to June 30, 1853.<sup>55</sup> The disbursements from it from that date on were as follows:

For the year ending June 30, 1854.....	\$ 1,206 60
For the year ending June 30, 1855.....	1,283 35
From July 1, 1855, to December 17, 1856.....	1,463 44
From December 18, 1856, to December 31, 1857.....	1,528 69
From January 1, 1858, to April 1, 1859.....	1,847 65
	<hr/>
	\$ 7,329 73 <sup>56</sup>

Annual Expenditures for Legislature, Library, Printing, and Incidentals.—While the special appropriations by Congress for territorial purposes and the fund for the contingent executive expenses were handled by the Territorial Governors, the Secretaries of the Territory were made auditors and treasurers of the annual appropriations from the national treasury for the support of the territorial legislatures, library, printing, and incidentals.<sup>57</sup>

Data for determining the disbursements of the national fund in charge of the Secretary of the Territory are furnished

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<sup>55</sup> Governor Gaines notes in the “Executive Journal” that no public money was turned over by Acting-Governor Prichette when the executive papers were transferred. In the Letter Book of the Territorial Governors, 1853-1859, an item for May 3, 1854, announces a letter received from Elisha Whittlesey, Comptroller of the Treasury, stating that ex-Governor Gaines had deposited \$177.20, the unexpended balance of the contingent appropriation, indicating failure to furnish records directly to his successor at Salem.

<sup>56</sup> Executive Accounts, MS.

<sup>57</sup> The provision in the Organic Act was as follows: “There shall also be appropriated annually, a sufficient sum to be expended by the Secretary of the Territory, and upon an estimate made by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the Legislative Assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses.”

The salaries named in this act for territorial officials were as follows: Governor, \$1,500 as Governor and \$1,500 as Superintendent of Indian Affairs; Chief Justice and Associate Justices, each \$2,000; Secretary of the Territory,

by accounts kept by George L. Curry and his successor in this office, Benjamin F. Harding. The records of the accounts of S. M. Holderness, Kintzing Prichette and Edward Hamilton as secretaries, if ever deposited in the Archives, appear to be lost. Secretary Curry, on taking charge of the office, May 14, 1853, complains of the absolute lack of means for ascertaining the state of the territorial accounts.

The first annual appropriation for this fund was \$26,000. Neither the money nor the instructions for the disbursement of it were received for the members of the legislature until the legislature had met in special session in May, 1850. The per diem and mileage, the pay of the officers and the contingent expenses paid out of this fund, both for the regular session held during the preceding summer and for this special session, were then settled from the receipts of the Collector of United States customs at Astoria; Governor Lane had, however, the preceding summer, advanced some of the amounts due to the legislators from the \$10,000 contingency fund with which he had been furnished on coming West.<sup>58</sup>

It is almost certain that S. M. Holderness and Kintzing Prichette, the first two secretaries, never received any territorial funds to disburse. Holderness served a few months and Prichette to September 18, 1850. Edward Hamilton, who succeeded him, and who held the office until superseded by Curry, May 14, 1853, made a very sorry showing with his administration of these accounts. He left no memoranda to indicate to his successor the state of the debits and credits of the Territory, and he seems to have had no end of trouble in getting his accounts with the national treasury balanced. It

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\$1,500; members of the Legislative Assembly, \$3 per day during attendance and \$3 for every twenty miles traveled in going to and returning from sessions; Chief Clerk, \$5 per day; Assistant Clerk, Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, each \$3 per day. No other officers were to be paid by the United States.

The annual estimates sent in by the Governors to the Secretary of the Treasury included at first amounts to cover salaries of officials of the executive and judicial departments, but the salaries of these officials were evidently disbursed directly from national treasury.

58 Executive Journal, MS., and House Journal, First Session, 1849, p. 57.

was not until March 20, 1854, some ten months after he had vacated the office, that he turns in \$3,637.21 in the form of a certificate of deposit to balance his account with the territorial funds. It was found difficult to collect on this paper. On July 5, 1856, \$2,751.25 were still claimed from and demanded of Hamilton. But he claimed that he was not justly indebted to the United States and wished "to bring the matter in regard to his accounts before the Honorable, the Secretary of the Treasury for the ultimate allowance of the items now disallowed which made up the amount stated to be due from him to the United States." The national officials held the secretaries to a very strict adherence to instructions. These were made to suffer for any departure from them, though inadvertent. In this way no doubt originated this last account against Hamilton.<sup>59</sup>

The Curry and Harding accounts from 1853-1859 show disbursements as follows:

## LEGISLATIVE.

Years.	Per diem and mileage.	Officers.	Contingent— (Printing, library, stationery, rent, fuel, etc.)
1853-4.....	\$ 7,482 00	\$ 2,040 00	\$ * 22,821 15
1854-5.....	7,431 00	3,168 00	5,961 33
1855-6.....	7,398 00	2,877 00	16,605 96
1856-7.....	7,714 00	3,045 00	4,601 54
1857-8.....	7,155 00	3,069 00	10,152 33
1858-9.....	6,357 00	1,632 00	10,819 04
	\$ 43,537 00	\$ 15,831 00	\$ 70,961 35

Total, \$130,329.35.

The annual expenditure for the Legislative Assembly, printing of laws and journals, maintenance of library, incidentals

<sup>59</sup> Secretary of the Territory's account with the United States Government, MS.

\* Payments regularly belonging to preceding years had evidently been deferred to this year.

and contingencies for these later years amounted to nearly \$22,000.<sup>60</sup>

60 The following estimates sent in to the Secretary of the Treasury indicate the proportions applied to the different objects:

Estimates for the year ending June 30, 1852—

Salaries of Governor, Secretary, Attorney, Marshal and three judges .....	\$10,900	
Compensation and mileage of members of Legislative Assembly, officers and clerks .....	12,500	
Contingent expenses of Legislative Assembly, printing laws and journals, etc. ....	6,340	
Rents, fuel, etc., for offices of Governor and Secretary .....	1,000	
Expenses of library, rent, librarian, etc. ....	600	
Contingent expenses of executive department .....	1,500	
Expenses of holding courts .....	4,000	
Contingencies .....	3,160	
		<hr/> \$40,000

Estimates for the year ending June 30, 1853—

Salaries of Governor, Secretary, Marshal and three judges ..	\$10,900	
Members of the Legislative Assembly, officers and clerks ....	12,500	
Contingent expenses of Legislative Assembly, printing laws, and journals, etc. ....	6,340	
Rents and fuel for the offices of Governor and Secretary ....	1,000	
Expenses of library, librarian, etc. ....	600	
Contingent expenses of executive department .....	1,500	
Expenses of holding courts .....	4,000	
		<hr/> \$36,840

Estimates for the year ending June 30, 1855—

Per diem and mileage of members of Legislative Assembly and compensation of officers of Legislative Assembly ....	\$11,600	
Incidental, printing session laws and journals .....	5,000	
Rent and fitting up of legislative walls .....	500	
Librarian salary .....	250	
Rent of library room .....	180	
Stationery .....	500	
Fuel, light, contingencies .....	300	
Rent of executive offices .....	350	
		<hr/> \$18,680

Estimates for the year ending June 30, 1856—

Per diem and mileage of members of Legislative Assembly and compensation of officers .....	\$11,600	
Incidental, printing session laws and journals .....	5,000	
Rent .....	500	
Salary of librarian .....	500	
Rent of library room .....	180	
Stationery .....	500	
Fuel, light, contingencies .....	400	
Iron safe .....	750	
		<hr/> \$19,605

It will be seen that these estimates gradually excluded the items of the salaries of the appointed officers whose pay did not pass through the hands of the Secretary of the Territory. The first item in the first two estimates indicate that he did not know what the salaries of the Marshal and the Attorney were. The estimate in each case just covers the amount needed for the salaries of the Governor, Secretary and the three judges, together with a \$400 excess.



*The Common School Fund.*

The doubling of the national bounty in the grants of public domain for the common schools was initiated with the act organizing Oregon Territory. Section twenty of this act provided that when the lands of the Territory were surveyed, section thirty-six, as well as sixteen in each township, should be reserved for the purpose of being applied to schools. The Legislative Assembly, at its first session, acting in harmony with the design of Congress in making this grant, provided for the creation of a "common school fund," the income of which should be appropriated for the support of the common schools in the Territory. It declared "that the principal of all moneys, falling or accruing to the Territory of Oregon, for school purposes, whether by donation or bequest, or from the sale of any land heretofore given, or which may hereafter be given by the Congress of the United States to this Territory for school purposes, or accruing from licenses, fines, forfeitures or penalties appropriated by law to common schools, or in any other manner whatever, shall constitute an irreducible fund; the proceeds, or interest, accruing from which, shall be annually divided among all the school districts in the Territory, proportionally to the number of children or youth in each, between the ages of four and twenty-one years; for the support of common schools in said districts; and for no other use or purpose whatever." All moneys paid into this fund should "bear an annual interest of six per centum," and the Legislative Assembly should "from time to time make such disposition of the fund, that it shall never be diverted from its proper object, and that it may be made to yield the foregoing interest with the greatest possible degree of certainty and regularity." And moreover, "all moneys accruing from the lease or rent of school lands, and also from a tax of two mills on the dollar, to be assessed and collected in the same manner as other territorial taxes," should be added to the interest on the school funds.<sup>61</sup>

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61 Oregon Statutes, First and Second Sessions, 1849 and 1850-1, pp. 66-76.

Legislative provision for this "irreducible fund," in identically the same language, is found in the act relating to "common schools," passed at the fourth regular session of the Legislative Assembly, 1852-3. The provision, however, for supplementing the income, as a sum to be distributed, by means of a territorial tax, was repealed.<sup>62</sup> The school law enacted in the next session, 1853-4, in enumerating the sources from which the principal of this fund should accrue, mentions only the "sale of land" and bequests for school purposes. Donations seem to have been despaired of and other uses found for "licenses, fines, forfeitures or penalties." Notwithstanding these elaborate legislative provisions for the accumulation of a school fund, the records of the treasury show no materialization of one during the first seven years of this period.<sup>63</sup> Evidently no bequests or donations had been received, no law had appropriated the proceeds of any licenses, fines, forfeitures or penalties to it, no provision had been made for the sale of the school lands, and no revenue had been received from renting them, and the territorial tax of two mills for school purposes, although on the statute books from September 9, 1849, to January 31, 1853, had not been enforced.<sup>64</sup>

The Legislative Assembly, at its seventh session, 1855-6, made it the duty of the county superintendents to sell school lands under certain conditions and restrictions, and to deposit the moneys, notes and securities received therefor with the Territorial Treasurer. This official was to loan all money belonging to the school fund at not less than ten per cent, payable semi-annually in advance. The loans were not to be for a longer period than five years. The county superintendents could sell for "one-fourth of the purchase money in hand, and

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62 Oregon Statutes, Fourth Session, 1852-3, pp. 55-57.

63 The Treasurer's report for 1856 contains the first school fund statistics. Receipts from "licenses, fines, forfeitures or penalties" were turned into county treasuries for school purposes.

64 As will be seen by reference to the statistics of general revenues given below there was not a prompt compliance even in the payment of the one mill territorial tax for general purposes.

the remainder in three equal annual installments at ten per cent per annum interest from the date of purchase.”<sup>65</sup>

With the progress of the sales under this law and the administration of the proceeds by the territorial treasurers, a small fund accumulated. A radical change in the mode of administration of the fund, however, was made two years later. It was then arranged for turning the moneys received from the sales into the county treasuries and also for distributing at the close of each year the cash that had accumulated in the territorial treasury on the securities it held to the county treasuries in proportion to the number of children in each county between the ages of four and twenty-one years. All moneys thus received into the county treasuries, arising from the sale of common school lands, were to remain an irreducible fund to be held “by the several counties in trust for the Territory.”<sup>66</sup> The territorial period thus closed with decided decentralization in the method of administering this fund.<sup>67</sup>

The earlier statutes pertaining to this fund all provide specifically for the annual apportionment of the income of it to the school districts of the Territory. Because of the lack of a law authorizing the sale of the school lands, no fund accumulated until 1856; and then from the fact that it remained so small and the net income of it so meagre, or, for some other reason, the machinery for the annual distribution of the income was never, during the territorial period, put into operation.

The general statistics of the common school fund, from 1856 to 1859, inclusive, are given below. The accounts of the Territorial Treasurer in this fund are full of most palpable errors. The public interest in this matter seems to have had no guardian. The errors are allowed to pass uncorrected and the system of accounting for the moneys and securities in this

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65 Oregon Statutes, Seventh Session, 1855-6, pp. 69-71.

66 Oregon Statutes, Ninth Session, 1857-8, pp. 43-45.

67 Oregon Statutes, Ninth Session, 1857-8, pp. 44-45.

fund degenerates from bad to worse. At the opening of the period of statehood the fund had been largely distributed among the counties. The county superintendents were by law required to report to the Territorial Auditor on the state of the territorial common school fund in their respective county treasuries. The Territorial Auditor, however, fails to give any data whatever, and so the reports of the Territorial Treasurer, who is engaged in distributing it, present a dissolving view of the "school money" as it passes into the dark recesses of the county treasuries.

## STATISTICS.

Common school fund during the year ending December 7, 1856:

## RECEIPTS.

Cash on sales.....	\$	3,662 20	
Interest on notes taken in part payment .....		781 26	
Notes—amount of principal.....		9,755 68	\$ 14,198 62 (a)

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Treasurer's commission for receiving, (2%).....	\$	283 96	
Treasurer's commission for loaning \$3,501.....		35 01 (a)	
Stationery.....		5 00	\$ 323 97 (a)
Balance in treasury (cash and securities).....			\$ 13,874 65 (a)

Common school fund for the year ending December 7, 1857:

## RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand.....	\$	13,875 27	
Cash on sales.....		3,939 96	
Interest on notes taken in part payment.....		1,807 09	
Notes—amount of principal.....		12,041 92	\$ 31,664 24 (b)

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Per diem and commissions of county superintendents in making sales.....	\$	355 95	
Treasurer's commission for receiving \$17,889.97.....		357 78 (b)	
Treasurer's commission for loaning \$4,496.....		44 96 (b)	
Treasurer's commission for receiving \$1,100 and reloading .....		33 00	\$ 791 69 (b)
Balance on hand.....			\$ 30,872 55

(a) As the first sample of the exasperating carelessness exhibited in these accounts, it may be noted that the figures given in the report in these items are: \$14,198.23; \$35.06; \$323.96; \$13,875.27.

(b) In this report the sums marked are given respectively as: "\$1,664.19; \$333.78; \$54.95; \$768.09; \$30,896.10. The balance thus shows an error of \$23.60 which the Treasurer makes to his loss.

Common school fund for the year ending December 7, 1858:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand in notes and cash.....	\$	30,896 10		
Interest received.....		1,480 84	\$	32,376 94

DISBURSEMENTS.

For recording mortgages.....	\$	14 25		
Treasurer for receiving \$1,480.84 interest.....		29 61		
Treasurer for receiving \$1,000 on notes and re- loaning.....		30 00	\$	73 86
Balance on hand.....			\$	32,303 08
Of which \$28,723.30 (c) are in notes and \$3,789.79 in gold coin—				\$32,513.09 (c).

Common school fund up to September 12, 1859:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand in cash and notes.....	\$	32,303 09		
Interest received.....		343 10	\$	32,646 19

DISBURSEMENTS.

Money and securities distributed among the counties, to be held in trust by them.....	\$	21,285 78 (d)		
Administrative expenses.....		222 05	\$	21,507 83
Balance of common school funds on hand in State treasury September 12, 1859.....			\$	11,138 36

The movement for the promotion of the cause of public education during this period exhibits an interesting crescendo followed by a diminuendo phase. There was a committee on education in the legislature of the Provisional Government as early as 1845. Two measures intended to facilitate the organization of public schools were considered during this year. The committee on education is found again in the next following Legislative Assembly. Governor Abernethy, in his message of December 7, 1847, appeals to the legislature in the following language: "The cause of education demands your attention. School districts should be formed in the several counties, and school-houses built. Teachers would be employed

(c) The Treasurer's list of amounts of notes on hand sums up \$200.00 more than his addition makes them. There is an additional discrepancy of \$10.00 when his "gold coin" is added to the sum of notes. This error of \$210.00 is to his gain. Of course typographical errors in printing may have been the cause of this discrepancy.

(d) The State Auditor, to whom the county superintendents were by the terms of the law to report the state of the fund in their respective counties, does not give data, so we have no means of ascertaining the sum by which this fund is credited on the books of the county treasuries.



by the people, I have no doubt, and thus pave the way for more advanced institutions." The general school law passed September 5, 1849, during the first session of the territorial legislature, provided for the election of "a superintendent of common schools," who should exercise a general supervision over the interests of the common schools throughout the Territory.<sup>68</sup> One was elected, but he had served only a year and a half when the office was abolished.<sup>69</sup> His claim for \$679.00,<sup>70</sup> which was no doubt earned, may have had something to do with the disposition to get along without his services. We have seen also how the liberal plans for this cause, in the two-mill territorial tax, the six per cent income for the fund that was guaranteed, the donations, licenses, fines, forfeitures and penalties that should accrue to the fund, the annual apportionments of the income—how these all vanish without fulfillment, and even the principal of the fund itself goes into hiding in the several county treasuries.<sup>71</sup>

*The Territorial University Fund.*

The sources of a university fund in Oregon were created in the grants of land made by the donation land law<sup>72</sup> passed by Congress on September 27, 1850. This act contained two distinct grants to aid in the establishment of a university: First, the amount of two townships west of the Cascade Mountains, one to be located north of the Columbia River and the other

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68 Oregon Statutes, First and Second Sessions, 1849, p. 68.

69 Oregon Statutes, First and Second Sessions, 1851, p. 76.

70 Appendix to House Journal, Fourth Session, 1852-3, p. 21.

71 Supra, p. 156.

72 This was an act that primarily created the office of Surveyor-General of the public lands in Oregon and provided for the first surveys. A central feature of it, also that from which it obtained its common title, consisted of the liberal grants to settlers, who had made their long and arduous migrations in expectation of these grants and had assured the Americanization of the Pacific Coast. The act organizing the Territory, passed two years earlier, had given sanction to all laws in force under the Provisional Government excepting the land laws.

south; second, what was known as the "Oregon City Claim,"<sup>73</sup> excepting Abernethy Island—though all lots sold or granted from this claim by the original claimant, Dr. John McLoughlin, previous to March 4, 1849, should be confirmed to such purchasers or donees. This second portion of the university endowment, however, was secured through machinations that stamped it as ill-gotten and necessarily resulted in tainting more or less the university project.

The characteristic frontier conditions of life in Oregon at this time made its people slow to appreciate the purposes a university might serve. We may, therefore, expect a manifestation of levity in the handling of its funds and such disregard of far-reaching interests connected with it as would be certain to blight its development. Hardly had the grant of two townships been made and not a dollar of proceeds had yet found its way into the fund, before interest in the location of the institution was used as stock in trade in forming a compact to control the selection of the places for all the different territorial institutions. In the omnibus location bill of February 1, 1851, the university was located at Marysville (now Corvallis.) Four years later, in consummating what looks like another deal in the interest of a town-site boom, the university is moved to Jacksonville, while Corvallis gets the

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73 The so-called "Oregon City Claim" was the original claim of Dr. John McLoughlin, upon which Oregon City was being built. The basis of his claim extended back upwards of twenty years. As it was contiguous to the falls of the Willamette and was believed to be the natural site of the commercial and manufacturing center of this western settlement, there was some color of reason for a disposition of it in accordance with the "town site" idea. Dr. McLoughlin's claim to it, however, had such long standing and was being handled with such liberal public spirit that his invidious deprivation of it had little support in public opinion. This portion of the university endowment brought only the paltry sum of \$1,680 into the fund. The cost incurred through petitions, legislation, reports, and memorials in the vain effort to fully undo the wrong, must have amounted to tens of thousands. And, moreover, it burdened the university idea with the odium that would unconsciously cling to it from being thus intimately associated in thought with a malevolent undertaking. The literature of this episode in Oregon history is voluminous. The Spectator, a bi-weekly paper of the time, the Congressional Globe, and the State Archives abound with reference to it. It receives a thorough discussion in Bancroft's "Oregon," Vol. II, and in Holman's "Dr. McLoughlin," pp. 101-162.

capital.<sup>74</sup> Partly because there was revulsion against further jockeying with the institution and partly because of a sentiment that the university fund should be diverted to the purposes of the common schools, the legislature of 1855-6 repealed all acts locating the Territorial University.<sup>75</sup> Provision was also made for loaning the university fund so that it would no longer be "left 'laying about loose' at the service of any ingenious and enterprising town proprietor, with which to grease the wheels of some local movement of his own."<sup>76</sup>

Among other indications of conditions in Oregon at this time making it precarious for a university fund, are the facts that the first board appointed to select the two townships of land failed to act, and further, after lands were selected, private individuals were not slow in disputing the right of the Territory to them if they found them desirable. Public opinion seemed to support the practice of trespassing upon them and grand juries were loth to bring in indictments.<sup>77</sup>

Notwithstanding this loss by trespass, the minimum price of these lands was fixed at four dollars an acre, which at the time was prohibitive of further sales. Lands amounting to two townships were selected and the approval of these selections by the Surveyor-General sought in accordance with the terms of the grant. However, that provision in the grant requiring that one township be selected north of the Columbia River and one south of it, was repealed when Washington was organized as a Territory. The lands were likely for years to remain cheap and it was realized that a larger grant would be needed if the endowment was to be adequate towards serving its purpose in bringing about the establishment of a uni-

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74 Oregon Statutes, Fifth and Sixth Sessions, p. 562.

75 Oregon Statutes, Seventh Session, 1855-6, p. 53, and House Journal, Eighth Session, 1857-8, p. 38.

76 Oregon Statutes, Seventh Session, 1855-6, p. 75, and Oregon Statesman, December 25, 1855.

77 Report of University Land Commissioner, Appendix to House Journal, Tenth Session, 1858-9, pp. 64-5.

versity, so the delegate in Congress was instructed to secure two more townships.<sup>78</sup>

The accounts of the university fund from 1854 to 1859, inclusive, are as follows:

For the year ending December 6, 1854:

RECEIPTS.

Gold coin .....	\$	6,200 00	
Securities .....		<u>2,573 23</u>	

DISBURSEMENTS.

Administration of funds and sales .....	\$	1,051 64	
Towards erection of university .....		<u>1,500 00</u>	\$ 2,551 64
Balance on hand—Gold coin .....	\$	3,648 36	
Securities .....		<u>2,573 23</u>	\$ 6,221 59

For the year ending December 6, 1855:

RECEIPTS.

Balance in treasury—Gold coin .....	\$	3,648 36	
Coin received .....		<u>2,060 12</u>	\$ 5,708 48
Securities .....	\$	2,573 23	
Securities received .....		<u>659 53</u>	\$ 3,232 76

DISBURSEMENTS.

Coin—Administration of fund .....	\$	1,347 65	
Towards erection of building .....		<u>1,877 20</u>	\$ 3,224 85
Securities paid .....			1,121 28
Balance in treasury—Gold coin .....	\$	2,483 63	
Securities .....		<u>2,111 48</u>	\$ 4,595 10

The sum of \$87.43 of excess of treasurer's commission charged was repaid. This amount must be deducted from coin receipts and disbursements to get amount of actual transactions.

For the year ending December 6, 1856:

RECEIPTS.

Balances in treasury—Gold coin .....	\$	2,483 63	
Securities .....		<u>2,111 47</u>	

N. H. Lane, the Territorial Treasurer for 1855, did not turn over his office to John D. Boon, his successor, until January 12, 1856. There is no report for the university fund for the interim from December 6, 1855, to January 12, 1856.

John D. Boon reports as having received from his predecessor the following: January 17, cash, \$2,935.20; securities, \$604.76; total, \$4,539.96. This shows a shrinkage of the fund

<sup>78</sup> Appendix to House Journal, Eighth Session, 1856-7, p. 154.

of \$55.14 during the period from December 6, 1855, to January 17, 1856. This is to be construed as the amount of the excess of expenditures over receipts during this time.

John D. Boon's report for the remainder of the year:

RECEIPTS.			
Balance in treasury .....	\$	4,539 96	
Amount received (the coin is no longer segregated from notes) .....		798 11	\$ 5,338 07
DISBURSEMENTS.			
Administration expenditures .....	\$	437 46	\$ 437 46
Balance in treasury .....			\$ 4,900 61
(The treasurer debits himself with \$4,901.61.)			

For the year ending December 7, 1857:

RECEIPTS.			
Balance .....	\$	4,901 61	
Interest .....		536 35	\$ 5,437 96
DISBURSEMENTS.			
Administration .....	\$	439 45	\$ 439 45
Balance in treasury .....			\$ 4,998 51

For the year ending December 7, 1858:

RECEIPTS.			
Balance <sup>79</sup> .....	\$	4,998 44	
Interest .....		379 08	\$ 5,377 52
DISBURSEMENTS.			
Administration .....	\$	163 58	\$ 163 58
Balance in treasury .....			\$ 5,213 94
(The figures in the report are \$5,203.94.) <sup>79</sup>			

For the year ending September 12, 1859:

RECEIPTS.			
Balance .....	\$	5,203 94	
Interest .....		329 75	\$ 5,533 69
DISBURSEMENTS.			
Administration .....	\$	68 29	\$ 68 29
Balance in treasury .....			\$ 5,465 40

### *Expenditures of Territorial Revenues.*

We have seen that the salaries of the Governor and Secretary of the Territory, their incidental expenses and clerical hire; the salaries of the territorial judges and the expenses of

<sup>79</sup> It will be noticed that the "balance" shrinks 7 cents in being brought forward and that the Treasurer makes a mistake of \$10.00 in his own favor in bringing down the balance for the accounts of the following year.



holding courts, including the maintenance of the territorial library; the per diem and mileage of the members of the legislature, along with pay for its officers and clerks and the public printing and rent of halls, were all paid with moneys from the national treasury. The fund for all necessary territorial buildings were provided from the same source. Endowments in the form of liberal grants of the public domain were available for the building up of funds for the support of common schools and higher education. The National Government, too, regularly stood sponsor for the common defense, but under the peculiar conditions of the situation in the Pacific Northwest at this time, private resources in service and wealth were advanced voluntarily to meet exigent needs. What then would remain as the scope and function of a territorial system of finance? Unless the people of the territory were bent on undertaking costly public works, the rapid development of their system of public education, or were burdened with heavy expenses in maintaining an internal police and care of unfortunate classes, the scale of their fiscal operations would be narrow and quantitatively insignificant. And, indeed, so attenuated were the common territorial interests of the people, aside from those supported by means from the national treasury, that the territorial treasury for some three years (1849, 1850 and 1851) lapsed into innocuous desuetude.

The newly appointed Governors, fresh from the East, betray by expressions in their inaugural messages to the Legislative Assembly the fact that they have been strongly impressed by something akin to community mendicancy or reversion to a tax-free primitiveness. The successive sessions of the Legislative Assembly do not fail to keep on the statute books laws for the assessment and collection of territorial revenues and to elect territorial auditors and treasurers. Nevertheless, for several years no territorial revenues are paid in and the

people in the enjoyment of the services of their Territorial Government, such as they were, went scot-free.<sup>80</sup>

It is not until some three years after the territorial organization went into effect that the first territorial treasury transaction took place, and nearly four years after the initial date we have the first treasury reports. These indicate clearly that during the year covered by them fiscal operations began *de novo*.<sup>81</sup>

Governor Gaines, in a letter dated December 11, 1850, in reply to an inquiry from the sheriff of Marion County, indicates that even in that county, having a near-by demonstration of the territorial establishment, there was resistance to collection of taxes.<sup>82</sup> The attitude of disavowment of fiscal obligation seemed in some directions to increase with the square of the distance from the capital. This dilatoriness on the part of many of the counties continued throughout this period, though

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80 In his message of July 17, 1849, Governor Lane says: "A matter of deepest interest to the prosperity of the Territory will be the establishment of a judicious system to raise revenue. This is no less demanded for the redemption of the plighted faith of the Provisional Government, than it is for raising, by a practicable and legal method, sufficient funds, not attainable from the federal treasury, to meet incidental and necessary expenses of the Territory. While the home government contributes in a liberal spirit to the maintenance of our temporary existence as a Territory, it is expected that all revenue necessary to the local interests of the several counties will be supplied by a system of equal assessments levied upon the people who are to be permanently benefitted thereby. Your early attention to this delicate but necessary duty is earnestly recommended."—Executive Record, MS.

Governor Gaines also, in his message of December 3, 1850, thus refers to the subject: "The subject of taxation, always a delicate one, demands your early attention. The people will cheerfully pay such taxes as the wants of the Territory require, provided they are equitably levied. With great deference I would recommend the passage of a law, by means of which the value of each person's property of every description may be ascertained and impose a reasonable *ad valorem* tax upon it after deducting his indebtedness."—Executive Record, MS.

81 See *supra*, p. 172. The first Treasurer's report is dated December 7, 1852; the first report of the Auditor is without date, but was submitted to the House of Representatives on January 6, 1853.

82 Executive Records, MS.

the tax-paying habit under pressure from the territorial officials had at the end of it become fairly well established.<sup>83</sup>

There are other evidences of rudimentary fiscal conditions. The Auditor in his first report finds it necessary to remind the legislature "that the offices of Auditor of public accounts and Territorial Treasurer are without salary, or other means of remuneration of service." Some features of the reports of these slighted officials indicate correspondingly inchoate ideas of what the public funds they were instrumental in extorting from the counties were for. For instance, the Auditor's "estimate of expenditures for the next fiscal year" repeatedly includes the item of the salary of the territorial librarian when that obligation had from the beginning, and uninterruptedly, been assumed by the national treasury.<sup>84</sup>

There were special acts for the "relief of individual creditors," but never a regular or general appropriation bill of territorial moneys. Therefore, we find no treasury "funds," and no segregation of items of expenditure according to objects to which they were applied.

The following table of classified expenditures was arranged from wholly unclassified lists of "warrants issued" and "warrants paid," of which the reports of the territorial auditors and territorial treasurers are mainly composed:

TABLE OF EXPENDITURES OF TERRITORIAL REVENUES—OBJECTS.

Date.	Administrative.	Prosecuting attorneys.	Penitentiary.	Care of insane.	Internal improvements. Locating Ter. roads.	Pilot service.	Legislative incidentals.	Miscellaneous.
1852	\$-----	\$ 300 00	\$-----	\$-----	\$-----	\$-----	\$ 75 00	\$ 163 75
1853	1,482 90	1,040 75	1,743 40	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,072 00
1854	825 73	431 42	1,069 49	-----	541 50	-----	98 00	321 00
1855	1,142 81	2,614 45	5,198 90	-----	2,081 00	-----	339 00	412 00
1856	702 86	2,168 00	5,030 25	2,156 96	1,268 00	-----	113 50	503 25
1857	2,128 32	1,891 18	8,828 99	1,733 06	1,990 57	503 05	-----	2,633 05
1858	2,530 51	2,067 19	10,779 96	-----	-----	250 00	-----	2,870 05
1859	3,807 46	930 70	10,041 99	-----	-----	125 00	-----	377 50
	\$ 12,620 59	\$ 11,123 69	\$ 42,692 95	\$ 3,890 02	\$ 5,881 07	\$ 878 05	\$ 625 50	\$ 7,752 60

83 As late as March 20, 1857, the Territorial Auditor says: "I am just about instituting suit against at least half of the county treasurers in the Territory for delinquencies."—Letter Book of Territorial Auditors, 1853-1860, MS.

Some outlying counties, like Jackson and Wasco, were most dilatory with territorial taxes; others, like Coos and Curry, were prompt

84 See reports for 1852, 1854 and 1855.

The table represents anomalies, some of which are quite easily accounted for. The comparatively large sums for 1853 are due to the fact that back levies of territorial taxes are being received and deferred claims presented and paid. Taking the items by classes or columns, it is to be remarked that a superintendent of schools whose office was abolished in 1851 presented his claim in 1853. There was an increase in the rate of taxation in 1855 that some counties did not conform to, so their payments were not accepted in 1856 and commissions were not collected. The unusual expenditures in 1859 were incurred in making transition to statehood.

The shrinkage in the outlay for prosecuting attorneys in 1854 is clearly due to a deferred claim. There is the same reason for the fluctuation in 1859.

The care of the indigent insane was made a charge upon the Territory during only two years. The burden was then again remitted to the counties.

The expense of locating territorial roads ("internal improvements") was, after 1857, also shifted to the counties.

The three large sums in the column of "miscellaneous" expenses are to be accounted for as follows: That of 1853 was due to the cost of removing the body of S. R. Thurston, the first Territorial Delegate to Congress, from its first burial place in Mexico to Salem. The large sum of 1857 was incurred partly in getting a Thurston monument and partly in paying claims for work on the State House that was destroyed, which claims had not been allowed by the official of the national treasury. In 1858 there were claims to meet for construction material for the penitentiary building after the national appropriation had been exhausted.

## TABLE OF ANNUAL TREASURY STATEMENTS WITH ITEMS CLASSIFIED.

Date of report, December 7, 1852:

RECEIPTS.		
From general property tax.....	\$ 2,506 86	\$ 2,506 86
DISBURSEMENTS.		
For prosecuting attorney.....	\$ 300 00	
For legislative incidentals, (public printing)....	75 00	
For administration, (librarian).....	260 50	
For miscellaneous, (commissioner on Cayuse war claims).....	163 75	
Balance in treasury.....	1,797 61	\$ 2,506 86

Date of report, December 12, 1853:

RECEIPTS.		
Balance from last report.....	\$ 1,797 61	
From general property tax.....	3,285 22	
Librarian returns.....	260 50	\$ 5,343 33
DISBURSEMENTS.		
For administration.....	\$ 1,482 90	
For prosecuting attorney.....	1,040 75	
For penitentiary.....	1,743 40	
For miscellaneous.....	1,072 00	
Balance in treasury.....	4 28	\$ 5,343 33

Date of report, December 6, 1854:

RECEIPTS.		
Balance from last report.....	\$ 4 37	
General property tax.....	3,251 62	\$ 3,255 98
DISBURSEMENTS.		
For administration.....	\$ 825 73	
For prosecuting attorney.....	431 42	
For penitentiary.....	1,069 49	
For legislative incidentals.....	98 00	
For internal improvements.....	541 50	
For miscellaneous.....	321 00	
Balance in treasury.....	68 84	\$ 3,255 98

Date of report, December 6, 1855:

RECEIPTS.		
Balance from last report.....	\$ 68 84	
General property tax.....	11,602 26	
Trust funds.....	2,839 49	\$ 14,510 59
DISBURSEMENTS.		
For administration.....	\$ 1,142 81	
For prosecuting attorney.....	2,614 45	
For penitentiary.....	5,198 90	
For internal improvements.....	2,081 00	
For legislative incidentals.....	339 00	
For miscellaneous.....	412 00	
For trust funds.....	2,447 40	
Balance in treasury.....	275 03	\$ 14,510 59



Date of report, December 7, 1856 :

RECEIPTS.			
Balance from last report.....	\$	275 03	
From general property tax.....		11,898 39	
Trust funds.....		192 86	\$ 12,366 28
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DISBURSEMENTS.			
For administration.....	\$	702 86	
For prosecuting attorney.....		2,168 00	
For penitentiary.....		5,030 25	
For insane.....		2,156 96	
For internal improvements.....		1,268 00	
For legislative incidentals.....		113 50	
For miscellaneous.....		503 25	
For trust funds.....		167 40	
Balance.....	\$	6 06	\$ 12,366 28

Date of report, December 7, 1857 :

RECEIPTS.			
Balance from last report.....	\$	6 06	
From general property tax.....		21,800 85	
From error of treasurer.....		1 20	\$ 21,808 11
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DISBURSEMENTS.			
For administration.....	\$	2,128 32	
For prosecuting attorney.....		1,891 18	
For penitentiary.....		8,828 99	
For insane.....		1,733 06	
For internal improvements.....		1,990 57	
For pilot service.....		503 05	
For miscellaneous.....		2,633 05	
Balance.....		2,117 40	
Errors.....		17 51	\$ 21,808 11

Date of report, December 7, 1858 :

RECEIPTS.			
Balance from last report.....	\$	2,117 40	
General property tax.....		20,936 58	\$ 23,053 98
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DISBURSEMENTS.			
For administration.....	\$	2,530 51	
For prosecuting attorney.....		2,067 19	
For penitentiary.....		10,779 96	
For pilot service.....		250 00	
For miscellaneous.....		2,870 05	
Balance.....		4,556 27	\$ 23,053 98

Date of report, September 12, 1859 :

RECEIPTS.			
Balance from last report.....	\$	4,557 15	
General property tax.....		18,311 98	
"China tax".....		377 54	
Rent.....		30 00	
For rock from state house.....		32 66	\$ 23,309 33
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DISBURSEMENTS.			
For administration.....	\$	3,807 46	
For prosecuting attorney.....		930 70	
For penitentiary.....		10,041 96	
For pilot service.....		125 00	
For miscellaneous.....		377 50	
For constitutional convention.....		7,868 64	
Increased by treasurer's error.....		39 80	
Balance.....		118 27	\$ 23,309 33

*Comments on the Above Treasury Statements.*

It is to be noticed that there is always a "balance remaining in the treasury." Unfortunately there are peculiarities about several of the Auditors' reports that render it impossible to determine the amount of warrants outstanding at the end of each year. If the list of warrants issued during each year could be relied upon as containing all given by the Auditor, if every warrant issued amounted to an actual liability of the Territory,<sup>85</sup> and if there were no payments from the treasury except on orders drawn by the Auditor, the floating debt of the Territory from year to year would be easily ascertainable. None of these conditions was fulfilled. The lists of warrants issued are not complete. The Treasurer did not recognize a warrant as necessarily authorizing a payment. Payments were sometimes made from the treasury without the formality of a warrant. In fact the balances of the auditors and the treasurers do not in the course of the eight years of treasury records agree more than three times on the "amount received by the Treasurer" and the "balance remaining in the treasury." Agreement on the "balance remaining in the treasury" is not arrived at from data appearing in the auditors' accounts. The only procedure through which the liabilities of the Territory at the end of each year could be exactly ascertained would be to classify every claim paid according to year when incurred and when paid. The Territorial Government began with a clean ledger. It did not assume any obligations of the Provisional Government and it handed down none that appear on the records to the State Government.

Taking the statements of the auditors, the public debt at the end of each year was as follows:<sup>86</sup> 1852, \$419.04; 1853,

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<sup>85</sup> From 1857 on, the Territorial Treasurer was required to pay all warrants of the Territorial Auditor, if there was money in the treasury for the purpose.—Statutes of Oregon, Eighth Session, 1856-7, p. 27.

<sup>86</sup> By act of December 11, 1856, warrants that had been presented and "not paid for want of funds," drew legal interest until notice was given that there were funds to redeem such outstanding warrants. Interest paid on warrants amounted in 1857 to \$167.00; in 1858 to \$51.28.

\$855.37; 1854, \$6,601.31; 1855, \$8,382.79; 1856, \$6,815.22; 1857, \$2,000.00; 1858, 000; 1859 (Sept. 12), 000.

Additional peculiarities of these territorial treasury accounts are best disclosed by attention directed to each annual statement in turn.

Statement for the Year 1852.—The Auditor had up to this date issued warrants to the amount of \$5,005.79. As only \$799.25 had been paid on them, warrants nominally to the amount of \$4,206.54 were outstanding. But out of this sum only \$679.54, the claim of the territorial superintendent of schools, were ever paid. (New warrants to cover some of the same claims, but for reduced amounts, were issued a few years later and paid.) Of the warrants which the Treasurer refused to pay on the ground that they were for claims not recognized by law, \$1,491 were due commissioners on Cayuse War claims; \$1,170 were for the claims of a board of pilot commissioners and its officers; and \$1,241 were claimed by Amory Holbrook for services as prosecuting attorney pro tem for several counties. Those of the commissioners on Cayuse War claims were provided for in Congressional appropriations to meet the expenses of that war. It is to be remarked, however, that the claim of A. A. Skinner for services as such a commissioner was paid out of the territorial treasury, which was in accordance with the terms of the act providing for the appointment of these officials, an act passed before the Congressional appropriation. The territorial treasury was never reimbursed for this payment. The claims of the board of pilot commissioners were never satisfied, excepting claims for advertising for them. Amory Holbrook was at this time being dubbed "the evil genius" of the Governor. A few years later new warrants for reduced amounts were issued to him and paid. While the Treasurer seemed thus careful to pay only "lawful orders," he did pay the claims of the territorial librarian whose salary was provided for out of the national treasury. The amount paid him was returned and figures in the receipts of the next year. The warrants thus actually outstanding amounted to

\$419.04. There were, however, additional claims presented later and allowed.

Statement for the Year 1853.—For explanation of item of receipts from librarian, see comment on statement of preceding year. The item of penitentiary expenditures covers mainly sums paid to counties for keeping convicts sentenced to the territorial penitentiary. An interesting item of this class is found among the warrants issued by the Auditor of the preceding year, but at a date a few days later than the report of the Treasurer for that year. The amount of the claim was \$1,824.70, for services as jailor and expenses of keeping a criminal, etc. Evidently an individual had volunteered the provision of all of the accessories for a penitentiary for one, but he failed to collect.

Statement for 1854.—The Treasurer in bringing his balance forward mysteriously picked up nine cents. He opens his books with \$4.37 while he had closed them with \$4.28. It is the same man as Treasurer.

Statement for 1855.—The proceeds of several estates are deposited with the State Treasurer pending their distribution among heirs. While sums are carried over from one year to another, they are not segregated in the balances. There was, however, not the slightest basis for regarding them as funds escheated to the Territory. The sums assessed as taxes on lands in six counties were remitted to them for county or school purposes. Up to this date lands were not taxed for territorial purposes and in these counties lands had been assessed by mistake. A warrant drawn for \$110.00 is cashed for \$118.00 and the mistake goes uncorrected.

Statement for 1856.—We find in the Treasurer's report for this year anomalous entries of the sum "due the Treasurer," being \$303.14, and yet the incoming Treasurer debits himself as receiving only \$293.50 from the retiring Treasurer.

Statement for 1857.—Divers errors in addition and in

changing amounts of warrants occur, but they involve only small amounts.

Statement for 1858.—No comment.

Statement for 1859.—A new source of revenue appears, the "China tax," which will be discussed under revenues. The "balance" suffers a change again of 88 cents in being brought forward. This is against the Treasurer. But it is more than counterbalanced by an error of addition in footing up the disbursements.

### *Territorial Revenues.*

A general property tax was the sole source of territorial revenues during this period until 1858, when small sums were annually paid into the territorial treasury as the quotas of the license tax which under a territorial law all counties were required to collect of Chinamen engaged independently in mining and other gainful pursuits.<sup>87</sup>

With nearly all of the expense of the civil establishment borne, as is the rule in territories, by the national treasury, and with little attempted in the line of public works, the rate of taxation was necessarily low. The total levy for all purposes ranged from three to seven mills in counties where there were no debts and no county buildings being erected. The territorial levy was by legislative enactment one-half mill until 1854, when it was raised to one mill. For the year 1855 it was one and one-half mills, but for succeeding years it was again fixed at one mill until, in 1858, in anticipation of the larger needs of the State Government, it was raised to two and one-half mills.

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<sup>87</sup> By the law passed January 22, 1857, a license fee of two dollars was required per month for the privilege of mining gold in the Territory, twenty per cent of the gross proceeds of which was to be turned into the territorial treasury by the county collecting the same. The following year the act was amended so as to provide that "no Chinaman shall mine gold, trade, sell or buy goods, chattels or any property whatever, for the purpose of maintaining a livelihood, in this Territory, unless licensed," paying for such privilege or privileges the sum of four dollars per month. Fifteen per cent of the revenue arising from this tax, before deducting cost of collecting, was to be paid into the territorial treasury.



The governing county boards levied the school, county and territorial taxes in September and the collections were made in the fall and winter months. During the first four years it was the duty of the sheriff to call on the taxpayers at their "most usual place of residence"; in 1854 he could summon them to some public place in their respective election precincts or they could pay to his deputy at the county seat; should they neglect payment and he visited them at their residence he could collect mileage from them. In 1856 the county treasurer became the collector and all taxes remaining unpaid after sixty days were turned over to the sheriff to collect according to the old custom of making demand in person and being allowed fees and mileage.

County treasurers were to have paid over the territorial revenues before the first Monday in February, out of the first moneys paid into the county treasuries.<sup>88</sup> While county warrants at par were receivable for county taxes only gold and silver coin was a legal tender for territorial taxes.

There were the usual exemptions of a certain amount of household furniture and, for the first few years, of agricultural implements and mechanic's tools; of public property, and of property used for religious, literary, charitable and benevolent purposes. In line with the unique policy of the Provisional Government agricultural lands were also tax-free for several years. Although the first general tax legislation, that of September 21, 1849, provided for a tax "on all lands, town lots, and out lots," in its enumeration of the kinds of property subject to taxation, and although the next general tax law, that of 1854, also included "not only the land itself, whether laid out in town lots or otherwise," among the forms of property subject to taxation, and this act in the forms of

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<sup>88</sup> This requirement worked a hardship on county treasurers remote from the capital. It was frequently almost impracticable to travel at this time and there was a lack of facilities for the safe transmission of their funds. There was no provision for their expenses in travelling. These conditions furnished plausible excuses for delinquencies on account of which heavy forfeitures were incurred.

assessment blanks it prescribed even provided headings and columns for the descriptions and valuations of farming lands, yet the six counties in which lands were for the first time taxed under this law, had the receipts from such land tax remitted to them. The authorities in the other counties had still held that lands were not taxable. However, an act of 1856 was more effective in bringing land into the class of taxable property. It provided that "All lands shall be subject to taxation as real estate—First, when the owner or occupant has resided four years upon his claim; second, where land has passed by deed, transfer, sale or otherwise; third, when the land has been entered in the land office."

The forms of these specifications disclose the reasons, in part at least, why land had escaped taxation. Legal titles, or evidence of title, which patents give, were very slowly and tardily obtained in Oregon. Procedure for securing patents was not instituted until after the passage of the "Donation Act" in September, 1850. And it is not unlikely that the legislators, who belonged distinctively to the claim-holding class, should have favored the practice of relieving those, who in improving their claims were doing most for the upbuilding of the community, from the burdens of taxation.

The law contemplated that the assessor, elected in June, should proceed with his work early in July; that the assessment roll should be filed complete, ready for the county board at its September meeting, when the levies should all be made; that this roll, with warrant for the collection attached, should be in the hands of the sheriff or treasurer but little after the middle of the month; and that the collection should have been mainly effected by the close of October. This roll, with the warrant, and an account of his acts thereon in the collection of the taxes through payments made or distraint and sale of goods and chattels, and the list of unpaid taxes on real estate, the sheriff did not return until the first Monday in April. A copy of these county assessment rolls was to have been in the hands of the Territorial Auditor within thirty days after the

levy by the county boards, say October 1st. From this copy, and another made from it, and placed in the hands of the Territorial Treasurer, the counties were charged with their respective amounts of territorial taxes. These the county treasurers were to pay over "on or before the first Monday in February" "in gold and silver coin" "out of the first moneys collected and paid into the county" treasuries. The chronic complaints of the Territorial Auditors indicate that some county auditors were unconscionably irregular in filing their assessment rolls at the territorial capital. The following table of annual payments into the territorial treasury show that the coin rolled very slowly, as a rule, toward the territorial treasury. A very small fraction of the territorial tax reached that destination the same year it left the pockets of the people.

Date of Receipt.	Year for which the payments were made.					Total.
1852-----	For 1850. \$ 507 40	For 1851. \$ 579 29	For 1852. \$ 1,510 20			\$ 2,596 86
1853-----				\$ 2,596 86 For 1853.		3,285 22
1854-----	\$ 165 58 For 1852. \$ 16 61	457 09 For 1853. \$ 2,735 00	\$ 16,639 95 For 1854. \$ 500 00	\$ 998 33		3,251 61
1855-----	For 1854. \$ 9,902 26	For 1855. \$ 1,700 00		\$ 3,251 61		11,602 26
1856-----	For 1854. \$ 861 26	For 1855. \$ 10,993 47	For 1856. \$ 43 66			11,898 39
1857-----	For 1854. \$ 660 47	For 1855. \$ 504 63	For 1856. \$ 15,680 12	For 1857. \$ 4,955 63		21,800 85
1858-----	For 1855. \$ 1,429 69	For 1856. \$ 13,520 10	For 1857. \$ 5,986 79	For 1858.		20,936 58
1859-----	For 1855. \$ 540 51	For 1856. \$ 50 00	For 1857. \$ 442 96	For 1858. \$ 17,646 15	For 1859. \$ 9 90	18,689 52

Only four counties out of the ten paid the territorial taxes for 1850, and only five out of thirteen paid for 1851. From that time on, however, the response to the need of territorial revenues was more general. Still such outlying counties as Jackson and Josephine in the south,<sup>89</sup> Tillamook in the north-

<sup>89</sup> The Territorial Auditor, in his report for 1858, says that "Josephine County levied no property tax for 1857, relying, as I have been informed, on the sale of Chinamen licenses to defray the expenses of the county, and to pay their territorial revenue; none of which has been paid during this year, except \$362.75 of the Chinamen tax due. Having no assessment roll, I could make no charge against said county for 1857, and would recommend some legislative action as a guide to the Territorial Auditor in the premises." On November 8, 1856, six counties had not sent in copies of assessment rolls for 1856.—Auditor's Letter Book.

west, and Wasco in the northeast, paid very irregularly, if at all.<sup>90</sup> Seven counties in 1857 had to make up the extra half-mill tax they failed to levy in 1855. This disposition to inveterate delinquency stimulated drastic legislation. The failure of a county auditor to return a copy of his assessment roll within sixty days from the date of its approval by his county board made him liable to a penalty of not less than \$50.00 nor more than \$100.00. The rapid accumulation of forfeitures suffered by county treasurers for delinquency, or failure in promptness, in paying over territorial funds into the territorial treasury is best illustrated by the following typical statement to the treasurer of Columbia County, dated March 21, 1857, and found in the Letter Book of the Territorial Auditor:

"The only amount due from your county for 1856, if it had been paid on the first Monday of February last would have been \$169.30, less your commission of 4 per cent. But as it was not paid as aforesaid, it stands thus:

1857—February 2, To territorial tax for 1856.....	\$ 169 30
March 17, To forfeiture on \$162.53 at 20 per cent.....	32 50
March 17, To forfeiture at 2½ per cent a month to March 17, 1857.....	6 09
To forfeiture of 2½ per cent a month on \$3.78 until paid	
Leaving a balance after deducting the amount received (\$204.11) of \$3.78, together with 2½ per cent a month thereon as aforesaid until paid."	

Such a dire code of penalties as the above statement reveals shows that the provocation must have been extreme. The Territorial Auditor, on March 20, 1857, wrote: "I am just about instituting suit against at least half of the county treasurers in the Territory for delinquencies." Under this pressure a number of treasurers paid up original charges and forfeitures with the intention of presenting their claims to the next legislature for a refunding.

### *Abstract of the Evolution of the Tax Code.*

1849.

Subjects of Property Tax.—Capital employed in merchandising; gold dust; bills of exchange; money loaned; stocks in

<sup>90</sup> The Territorial Auditor, in his report for 1856, says that "the counties of Josephine, Wasco, and Tillamook, have made no returns of their assessments for the past fiscal year; and the county of Wasco has never made any, nor paid any revenue into the territorial treasury. The county of Tillamook is in a disorganized state—so much so that no assessment of property was had for 1856."

steamboats and other vessels; lands, town lots and out lots; "personal property."

Exemptions.—Public property; property of literary institutions; two hundred dollars' worth of household furniture to each householder, and his library, agricultural implements and mechanic's tools.

Licenses.—On each ferry kept by authority of law, not less than two nor more than one hundred dollars per annum; for "hawking" clocks, not less than one hundred nor more than three hundred dollars; to keep a grocery (to retail spirituous liquors) not less than two hundred dollars.

Poll Tax.—Counties may levy poll tax of one dollar on all male citizens over the age of twenty-one and under the age of fifty years.

Assessment.—To be at "true cash value." Taxpayer was subject to fine of ten dollars for refusal to give an account of his property when requested to do so by assessor

Collection.—Sheriff should demand payment of taxpayers "at their most usual place of residence, or at any other place where they may be found."

Rate.—Territorial tax shall be one-half mill for general purposes and two mills for schools, and probate court shall fix county per cent, which, with revenue from other sources, will be sufficient to defray the current expenses of such county and "to liquidate its debts for the year;" "and in no case to exceed four mills on the dollar."

### 1851.

Subjects of Property Tax.—In a revised enumeration of subjects to be taxed "out lots" were omitted and the following kinds of property specified: "mills and other machinery, horses, mules, jacks, jennies, cattle, sheep, hogs, clocks, watches and pleasure carriages."

Exemptions.—On household furniture it was raised to \$300.00. None other was specified.

Rate.—Territorial school tax was reduced to one mill.



1852.

Licenses.—“Grocery licenses” (really licenses to retail spirituous liquors) were reduced to a minimum of fifty dollars and a maximum of two hundred dollars.

1853.

The territorial school tax was repealed.

Compensation of treasury officials was first authorized: Salary of auditor was fixed at \$300.00; the treasurer was allowed  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on all moneys received and disbursed by him.

1854.

There was a general revision of the tax code.

Subjects of Property Tax.—“All property, real and personal, not expressly exempted.” (Real property was defined as including land, whether laid out into town lots or otherwise, and all improvements on it, and all rights and privileges appertaining thereto. In the definition of personal property credits and securities were emphasized.)

Exemptions.—The property of literary, scientific, charitable, benevolent and religious institutions directly used for these purposes, together with the \$300.00 exemption of household furniture and the exemption of public property. Property of Indians not citizens except their lands held by purchase.

Poll Tax.—Assessment of made obligatory.

Revenues for Schools.—A county tax of two mills and fines for breach of penal laws.

Collection.—Sheriff need attend only at some one place in each election precinct and if the taxes are not paid to him there, or at the county seat, he may collect at the taxpayer's residence and add mileage. County orders are receivable for county taxes, but only gold and silver coin for territorial taxes.

Penalties for Delinquencies in Paying Funds to Territorial Treasury.—For withholding more than ten days, 20 per cent of the amount withheld was added, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent a month thereafter.

Compensation.—Treasurer's fees were raised to 2 per cent on all moneys received and disbursed.

1855.

Rate.—Territorial tax was raised for this year to one and one-half mills. County tax for schools was lowered to one mill.

1856.

Subjects of Property Tax.—To secure actual taxation of lands as real estate it was provided that "all lands shall be subject to taxation as real estate—First, when the owner or occupant has resided four years upon his claim; second, where land has passed by deed, transfer, sale or otherwise; third, when land has been entered in the land office."

Exemptions.—If a taxpayer returned a list of his property his indebtedness to persons within the Territory was to be deducted from his own solvent claims.

Rate.—Territorial tax reduced to one mill.

Collection.—By the county treasurer during the first sixty days, after which the sheriff shall collect with costs.

1857.

Licenses.—Chinamen must pay two dollars per month for the privilege of mining in the Territory; twenty per cent of the revenue thus derived, before deducting cost of collecting, shall be paid over to territorial treasury.

Auditor's salary was raised to \$500.00.

Interest was allowed on territorial warrants at "legal rate," when presented and not paid for want of funds.

1858.

Licenses.—The "Chinamen tax" of the preceding year was extended so as to require a license from every Chinaman not only for mining but also for trading, selling or buying goods, chattels or any property whatever for the purpose of maintaining a livelihood. The license fee was raised to four dollars a month. Fifteen per cent of the revenue derived therefrom, before deducting cost of collecting, was to go to the territorial treasury.

1859.

Licenses.—Chinamen and Kanakas were to pay two dollars a month for mining gold in Jackson County. All Chinamen and Kanakas engaged in any kind of trade or barter among themselves, in the counties of Josephine and Jackson, were to pay for such privileges fifty dollars per month. These taxes were to be collected and accounted for the same as the "China taxes" of the preceding year.

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## APPENDIX.

### *Some Features of Oregon's Experience with the Financial Side of Her Indian Wars of the Territorial Period.*

The experiences of the people of Oregon with the finances of the Indian wars waged during the territorial period illustrate in a most striking way the salient features of the conditions in the Pacific Northwest at that time, and constitute important elements in the economic life of that region. The campaigns of 1855-6 were large undertakings for the community, caused serious interferences with their productive activities and involved a destructive use of a considerable portion of their accumulated wealth. There was no restitution by Congress for losses sustained for five years and, in fact, such was the dilatoriness and niggardliness of Congress in this matter that there never was a fairly adequate return for assuming the burdens of "common defense."

It is no doubt true that the Indians in some cases had provocation. If every representative of the white race had treated the Indians as members of a superior race should treat members of an unfortunate people whose territory they were encroaching upon and whose means of livelihood they were year by year rendering more precarious war might have been postponed. These conditions were not fulfilled in the Pacific Northwest any more than they have ever yet been fulfilled anywhere.

There were disturbances, depredations and the loss of a number of lives annually in the Rogue River country and several attacks upon defenseless and worn-out companies of immigrants when in the last stages of their long overland journey. In these cases there was naturally great slaughter. In the fall of 1855 a general uprising took place throughout the surrounding belt of Indian country on the north, east and south. National troops were not present in sufficient force, and so stationed, as to command the situation when the crisis arose. It thus devolved upon the Territorial Governors of Oregon and Washington to call for volunteers and to contract for supplies, transportation services, etc., etc., relying in each case upon a future settlement of the accounts by the National Government,—for the duty of providing for the defense of the lives and property of its citizens belongs to it and it had uniformly met that responsibility. The territorial legislature, however, at its session during the winter of 1855-6, when the situation for the border settlements seemed grave, went so far as to specify the pay each volunteer should receive and the compensation for the use or loss of his horse; it also provided for the auditing of all other claims that might be incurred though it made no provision for paying any.<sup>91</sup>

The claims for services rendered and losses sustained in connection with the earlier recurrent attacks upon the immigrants upon the Oregon trail and on mining parties and way stations on the Oregon and California trail were settled—insofar as there was any reimbursement at all—in accordance with the usual method of adjusting such claims against the National Government. The Secretary of the Treasury would be “authorized and directed to adjust and settle, on just and

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91 Oregon Laws, Seventh Session, 1855-6, pp. 26-29.

equitable principles," etc., etc.<sup>92</sup> Still even in these cases there were meagre fractional reimbursements and trying delays.<sup>93</sup> When petitions were presented for the settlement of the claims incurred in putting down the uprising of 1855-6 Congress from the start pursued a different tack.<sup>94</sup> There

92 The following is the text of the act of Congress for the settlement of the claims due to the clash with the Rogue River Indians in 1853: "An act to authorize the Secretary of War to settle and adjust the expenses of the Rogue River Indian War: Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, that the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to adjust and settle, on just and equitable principles, all claims for services rendered in the late war with the Rogue River Indians in Oregon, known as the Rogue River Indian War, according to the muster rolls of the same; also for subsistence, forage, medical stores and expenditures, as well as for any other necessary and proper supplies furnished for the prosecution of said war; and that, on such adjustment, [the same shall] be paid out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated." Passed July 17, 1854. Public Laws of the United States, First Session, Thirty-third Congress, 1853-54.

On July 31, 1854, Congress appropriated \$15,000 for the payment of claims for property destroyed "during the war closed by the treaty of September 10, 1853." This is the war provision for the cost of which is made in the act of July 17. A clause in the treaty closing it stipulated that out of the \$60,000 paid for Rogue River Valley, with the exception of one hundred square miles on the north side of it reserved for the Indians, \$15,000 should be reserved for indemnity for losses of property by the settlers during the war. The \$15,000 appropriation was a ratification of that clause.

93 This appropriation of \$15,000 sufficed for a "thirty-four and thirty-seven hundredths per cent" payment on the appraisal of the losses actually sustained. Many of the claimants failed to receive this pitiful payment, and, in 1872, the balance of the appropriation for this purpose was illegally turned back into the treasury, where it remained for ten years longer before, by the labors of several attorneys and an order of Secretary Fairchild, it was placed back to the credit of the claimants. And then the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary and Auditor of the Treasury were unable to find the original report of the commissioners of awards, refusing to pass (pay) any claim without it, or without an act of Congress. However, at length, \* \* \* the original report was discovered, and the claims all settled thirty years after the war."—Victor's Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 320.

94 Section II of "An act making appropriations for certain civil expenses of the Government," passed August 18, 1856, provided as follows: "And be it further enacted, That the Secretary of War be directed to examine into the amount of expenses necessarily incurred in the suppression of the Indian hostilities in the late Indian War in Oregon and Washington, by the territorial governments of said Territories, for the maintenance of the volunteer forces engaged in said war, including pay of volunteers, and that he may, if in his judgment it be necessary, direct a commission of three to proceed to ascertain and report to him all expenses incurred for the purposes above specified."—Public Laws of the United States, First Session, Thirty-fourth Congress, 1855-6.



was no longer the simple authorization for the Secretary of War "to adjust and settle on just and equitable principles," but a direction "to examine into the amount of expenses necessarily incurred," with the suggestion that he should appoint a commission to ascertain them and report to him. The attitude taken by General John E. Wool, then in command of the Department of the Pacific, had no doubt most to do towards developing opposition in Congress to prompt and liberal reimbursement for losses and costs connected with the suppression of Indian hostilities in the Pacific Northwest. General Wool had requested more troops for his department, but had declared that they were needed not so much "to protect the settlers and miners" as "to protect the Indians against the white men." The unexpected magnitude that the totals of the claims for the operations and losses for 1853 and 1854 were assuming may have contributed to make Congress more cautious.<sup>95</sup> At any rate the committee on military affairs refused to recommend for the claims of 1855-6 the usual grant of authority to the Secretary of War to settle them until the report of his commission was in. This delayed settlement a year. And when the commission, consisting of two officers of the regular army and a civilian, reported claims adjusted to the amount of \$6,011,497.36 due citizens of Oregon and Washington, although the Secretary of War referred to the work of the Commission in terms of commendation and held that the faith of the Government was pledged to pay the amount reported by it, Congress again balked. To Congressmen from eastern sections of the country who did not take into account the much higher level of prices and wages in proximity to the western gold fields, and the different relations between the supply of and the demand for commodities in this isolated region, and the distance and difficulties in transportation,

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<sup>95</sup> Claims to the amount of \$258,000 were paid for services, expenditures and losses in 1853 and the cost of Jesse Walker's expedition to protect the immigrants on the southern route in 1854 was \$45,000. The former sum was on the floor of the House stated as "some \$300,000." See Victor's *Early Indian Wars*, pp. 319, 329, and *Congressional Globe*.

many of the items in the commission's report did look preposterous. General Wool and other army officers had meanwhile used with largest effect incidents that had taken place in the contact between disreputable miners and the Indians. It was so easy to assume that these were representative. The report of the commission which had been the result of nearly a year's labor on the scene of the war was referred to the third Auditor of the Treasury for revision. This official worked at his task at Washington, though he conducted some investigations through correspondence. The report of the committee on military and the militia, made March 29, 1860, which recommends the substitution of a bill based on the revised adjustment of the third Auditor of the Treasury for one based on the preceding adjustment made by the Secretary of War's commission, reviews the whole procedure with these claims and reveals the light in which they are viewed at Washington on the introduction of the bill that provided for their payment. The report of this committee was as follows:

"The Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, to whom was referred Senate Bill No. 11, making an appropriation for the payment of the expenses incurred by the people of the Territories of Oregon and Washington in the suppression of Indian hostilities therein, in the years 1855 and 1856, having the same under consideration, report: That a disastrous and general war with the Indians existed in Washington and Oregon Territories in 1855 and 1856, and that these Territories incurred an onerous debt in the prosecution of this war.

"The threatened extermination of the whole white population<sup>96</sup> prompted the Governor of the Territory of Oregon, as authorized by the local legislature, to call out two regiments of mounted men (the ninth regiment being already in the field) and, from time to time, other troops, within the limits of the laws and as the exigencies of the service required; so that during these hostilities from 2,500 to 4,500 men were

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<sup>96</sup> The detractors of the people of Oregon and Washington at the capital, —and General Wool was the leader among them,—had instilled the belief into the minds of many of the Congressmen that the war had been nothing more than some "forays" indulged in by the settlers as a speculation, hoping to make them the basis of future claims.

engaged in the defense of that Territory. In Oregon [Washington] from one to two thousand men were called out to repel the savages who threatened to massacre the frontier population.

“During the session of 1855-6, the Oregon legislature passed an act for the payment of the volunteers, which allowed four dollars per day for man and horse; but the Territory of Washington passed no such laws on the subject.

“Conceding the necessity for calling out these volunteers, and that they were called out by competent authority, the obligation has been recognized to reimburse all necessary and proper expenditures incurred by these Territories in suppressing these hostilities.

“The Washington and Oregon war claims were presented for payment in 1856, when Congress authorized the Secretary of War to appoint a board of commissioners to examine and report them to him; and Captains A. J. Smith and Rufus Ingalls, United States Army, and Hon. Lafayette Grover being so appointed, reported October, 1857 (Ex. Doc. No. 24, 35th Congress, 1st Session) that the amount due by these Territories for this war was \$6,011,497.36.

“This subject being before the House of Representatives on February, 1859, it was referred to the Third Auditor of the Treasury for his examination, and his report of 7th February, 1860, reviews the claims in detail, (Ex. Doc. — 36th Congress, 1st Session) as directed by the House resolutions, by assimilating the pay of the troops to the army standard, and adjusting the prices of supplies, transportation, etc., to those paid by the regular army in that country at the same period, the auditor reduced the aggregate amount of the claims to \$2,714,808.58, a little more than one-third of the whole amount reported.

“The commissioners had not authority to adjudicate and settle these claims; they were instructed to report them to the Secretary of War, and the committee, after the examination of their report, consider some of their allowances extravagant. For example: \$120 per month for the pay of mounted men, \$5 a bushel for oats, and \$2 for a horse-shoe are prices slated for allowance.

“In this connection it might be proper to note that J. Ross Brown, special agent of the Government, in his letter of 4th December, 1859, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, (Senate Doc. No. 40) fully reviews the origin of this war and at page 13 says: ‘The commissioners at Vancouver have faith-

fully and impartially performed their duty. Whatever sum they may have decided upon in estimating this war debt, I hold that amount justly due, and that Congress will at once provide for its extinguishment.'

"The Secretary of War, in his annual report of 1857-1858, having had before him the abstract of these claims and the report of the commissioners (Ex. Doc. No. 24) says: 'These officers entered upon their duties on the tenth of October, 1856, and seemed to have labored with great assiduity and patience in discharge of them, until the twentieth of October last, when they were brought to a close. I have examined this report very carefully and conclude that, from the data they have adopted for their guide as to prices for stores and subsistence and time of service rendered by the men, it is not probable a more just and accurate result could be obtained than these gentlemen have arrived at. The amount ascertained to be due is a very large one, and Congress will have to make provision for its payment, if it is intended that they shall be liquidated, of which I presume there can be no doubt.'

"An examination of the Auditor's report to the House of Representatives shows that two companies, Captain Strong's and Captain Hays' called out in Washington Territory are not provided for as to their pay, while it is admitted that they rendered the same service as other companies; that allowances made by the commissioners for services, etc., rendered volunteers after they had been discharged from service; and, that, in some instances, the same persons have been allowed for services in two, or three capacities at the same time.

"The committee have examined these claims with the care their magnitude and importance required, and that with a view to an equitable settlement, report a substitute for the bill referred to them and recommend its passage."

About a year after the report of this committee, the measure it recommended, which was based on the report of the Third Auditor of the Treasury, became a law (March 2, 1861.) It appropriated \$400,000, or so much thereof as was necessary, to pay the volunteers, allowing them "the same pay and allowance as were paid to officers and soldiers of equal grade at that period in the United States Army serving in that country."

In like manner \$2,400,000 were appropriated "for the pay-



ment of claims for services, supplies, transportation, and so forth, incurred in the maintenance of said volunteers." These services, supplies and transportation were to be paid for at the same rates as were paid by the regular army. All claims for horses and other property lost or destroyed in the service were to be settled according to a rule established in a previous act of Congress.

It must be remembered that six years had elapsed since the claims had been incurred and no back interest was allowed. Furthermore, the payments were in greenbacks that never had acceptability as a medium of exchange in this region and were soon far below par. Instead of getting \$2.00 a day as promised by the territorial legislature, the common soldier was put off with about \$20.00 a month. Laborers assisting the regular service in this war had received from \$60.00 to \$90.00 a month. The use of his horse brought the volunteer about 40 cents a day instead of \$2.00 as promised by the legislature.<sup>97</sup> The rule that "all claims for supplies, services, and transportation were to be paid for at the same rates as were paid by the regular army," seemed fair, but in its application the price paid for a lot of Mexican or Indian ponies for the regular army was made the standard for considering the values placed by the settlers on their American horses, as extravagantly high. Horses in many instances sold for 50 per cent more after the war than had been paid for them in scrip during the war. The sugar supplied the volunteers was rated at 10¼ cents a pound, which was a cent less than it could be bought for at the time in San Francisco. While there had been instances of high prices for supplies and services the general fairness and reasonableness of the transactions were vouched for not only by the commission appointed by the Secretary of War, by the special agent, J. Ross Brown, but also by many letters from citizens of Oregon published in the report of the Third Auditor of the Treasury. The statement of Mr. Anderson, the Delegate from Washington, made on the floor of the House, was probably not far from the truth. He said: "So

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<sup>97</sup> The Oregon Argus, April 20, 1861.



far as the people of Washington are concerned, it is an absolute necessity that some appropriation be made at an early day. The Governor in an official communication says that 'starvation stares them in the face.' Why, sir, they launched everything they had in this war. They not only volunteered themselves and left their homes, with their wives and children behind them barricaded in blockhouses, but they gave their horses and their cattle, their wagons and their provender—everything they had—to conduct 'the forays' of which the gentleman of New York speaks. Instead of plundering the public treasury, the public treasury plundered them."

But there was an aftermath to this matter—or about a score of them—that has a less heroic cast. By November 27, 1871, overlooked claims on account of services, supplies, etc., during these Indian hostilities of 1855-6, to the amount of \$52,019.78, had been filed at Washington. Items, generally small, but once as large as \$33,976.71 for one Congress, were included in the appropriation bills almost regularly down to the nineties, for the payment of such unsettled claims. Such payments are strongly suggestive of the lobbying of the scrip-broker. But the legislature of the State of Oregon, by appropriations, \$100,000 in 1903 and \$45,000 in 1905, to make up the pay of the non-commissioned officers and privates to \$2.00 per day, and for the commissioned officers to that of the same rank in the army of the United States at the time, in fulfillment of the promise of 24th day of January, 1856, brought these long-standing accounts to a close. As payments were to be made only to original claimants this was a fitting finale after the lapse of half a century.

F. G. YOUNG.

# NOTES FROM A GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT ON OREGON CONDITIONS IN THE FIFTIES.

By THOMAS W. PROSCH.

In looking over some old Government publications of half a century ago, the writer saw occasional mention of Oregon matters, the reproduction of which will interest old residents of the State, and possibly others of later generation and advent.

In 1856 there were but two steamboat mail routes in the State of Oregon. One of these was between Portland and Astoria, 130 miles, two trips a week, for the service on which the contractor received \$7,000 per annum. The other route was between Portland and Oregon City, fourteen miles, two trips a week; \$1,100 per annum being paid. At that time there doesn't appear to have been any steamboat mail service in the Territory of Washington. In California were three routes, aggregating 304 miles, six trips per week on each, with aggregate annual compensation of \$52,000. Oregon was then interested in one of the few foreign mail steamship routes—No. 4. It called for semi-monthly service from Astoria, by Port Orford and San Francisco, to Panama in New Grenada, supplying Monterey, San Diego, etc., by a separate coastwise steamer from San Francisco in due connection with main line, a distance of 4,200 miles, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company being the contractor, and the annual compensation being \$348,250. Contract was made with the Postmaster General and Secretary of the Navy, in accordance with acts of Congress of March 3, 1847, and 1851. On the Atlantic side was a somewhat similar contract, for a semi-monthly service from New York to Havana, New Orleans and Aspinwall, 4,000 miles; M. O. Roberts, B. R. McIlvain and Moses Taylor being the contractors, \$290,000 being paid for the service, the route

being No. 3. The newly constructed railroad between Aspinwall and Panama connected these steamship routes, and made the service complete between New York and New Orleans on the one coast to San Francisco and Astoria on the other. Notwithstanding the enormous amount paid for the service—\$638,250 per annum—there was dissatisfaction with the manner of its performance or non-performance, Postmaster General Campbell referring as follows to it in his report of December, 1856:

“General regularity has been observed on all the United States mail steamship lines, except between New Orleans and Vera Cruz, and New Orleans and Aspinwall. On the line to Vera Cruz the service has never come up to the requirements of the contract—only two trips monthly, instead of three, having been performed, omitting Tampico; and from the 16th August to 14th October last, the service by steamer was entirely suspended. For these delinquencies suitable deductions have been made. The most serious complaints have arisen from the repeated failures of the New Orleans mail to connect with the New York and Pacific line at the Isthmus of Panama. No less than thirteen of these failures, either outward or inward, have occurred since the 20th of June, 1855. Some of these, it is alleged, have been occasioned by accidents to the steamers, and others from other causes beyond the control of the company. Many more failures have occurred since the contractors have run via Havana than when the service was direct between New Orleans and Aspinwall. From July, 1852, to September, 1854, the mails were conveyed direct; but by their contract the company stipulated only to run from New York and New Orleans to Havana, thence by one line to Aspinwall, and the department cannot compel them to keep up the direct service. Every means, however, within the power of the department, has been, and will continue to be, employed to enforce regularity, and it is hoped there will be no further cause of complaint.”

At that time, fifty years ago, the letter rate was 24 cents per ounce between Great Britain and the United States. The British officials that year submitted a proposition looking to a reduction of one-half, and the establishment of a 12-cent letter rate. The officials at Washington City assented, provided “the

transit charge on mails passing through England from and to the United States is reduced to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents an ounce, the price paid by that government for the conveyance of the British and Canada mails through the United States." An offer was also made by the American government to make a transit rate of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents on all letter mail, the offer to include California and Oregon, which then had higher rates than other parts of the Union, the reduction proposed being from 50 to 75 per cent. The present day letter rate from any part of the United States to Great Britain is 5 cents, the contrast between which and 24 cents or more is quite striking.

All the Oregon mail routes in 1856 aggregated 968 miles in length. Steamboat routes were 144 miles, coach routes 95 miles, and others not specified, but chiefly on horse, 729 miles. For the unspecified service \$18,121 were to be paid; for the coach \$3,650; for the steamboat \$8,100. The total transportation called for was 115,648 miles during the year, and the annual compensation was \$29,871. California was then far in the lead, with service and compensation six times greater than Oregon. Washington had no standing whatever in the report that year.

Oregon figured to a small extent in the pensions of the long-gone-by days referred to. A. McKinlay, with office in Oregon City, was the United States Agent. In Oregon Territory, during the year ending June 30, 1855, the number of pensioners reported was nine, the yearly amount of whose pensions was stated to be \$790. The amount actually paid, however, was reported to be \$1,333.31. The year following, ending June 30, 1856, the pensioners were increased in number to sixteen, and the amount due them to \$1,264, though the amount paid that year was only \$412.03. The payments of the two years amounted to only \$1,745.34. Mr. McKinlay had in hand \$729.22 awaiting pensioners at the close of the second year. The Oregon pensioners in 1907 probably number more than five thousand, and the moneys paid them annually are probably not less than one million dollars.

In 1860, 137 muskets were apportioned to Oregon by the Federal Government for the arming and equipping of the militia. The same number were apportioned to Washington, Nebraska, Kansas, Utah and New Mexico. The other States were rated higher, ranging from 169 to 2,142 muskets.

In 1855 the United States military posts in Oregon were Fort Dalles, commanded by Major G. O. Haller, with three companies of the Third Artillery and Fourth Infantry; Fort Lane, eight miles from Jacksonville, commanded by Captain A. J. Smith, with two companies of the First Dragoons; and Fort Orford, commanded by Major J. F. Reynolds, with one company of the Third Artillery; all being in the Department of the Pacific under General John E. Wool, having headquarters at Benicia, California. The year following there were two new posts or camps, one near Dayton, commanded by Captain C. C. Augur, with one company of the Fourth Infantry; and one near Rhinelands, eleven miles from Fort Orford, commanded by Captain E. O. C. Ord, with two companies of the Third Artillery. Colonel R. C. Buchanan then (1856) was in command at Fort Orford, and Lieutenant E. Underwood at Fort Lane. In 1857 the Department was commanded by General N. S. Clark, the Oregon posts being Fort Dalles, commanded by Colonel George Wright; Fort Hoskins, on the Siletz River, forty miles from Corvallis, commanded by Captain C. C. Augur; Fort Umpqua, near the mouth of Umpqua River, commanded by Captain J. Stewart; and Fort Yamhill, on the south fork of Yamhill River, twenty-five miles southwest of Dayton, commanded by Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan. In 1859, with General W. S. Harney at the head of the "Military Department of Oregon," Captain H. M. Black commanded at Fort Dalles, Captain D. A. Russell at Fort Yamhill, Captain C. C. Augur at Fort Hoskins, and Major J. B. Scott at Fort Umpqua. In 1860 the posts and commanders were the same as the year before, but for a time Major E. Steen, with two companies of the First Dragoons, was in the field at Siletz Indian Agency, at the same time



Captain Augur having two companies of the Fourth Infantry at Fort Hoskins. Most of the officers named in the foregoing subsequently distinguished themselves and became Generals in rank, the most notable case being that of Lieutenant P. H. Sheridan. Prior to the dates named Forts Dalles, Lane and Orford were in existence, being commanded in 1853 and 1854 by Major G. J. Rains, Major G. W. Patton, Captain A. J. Smith, Lieutenant A. V. Kautz and Lieutenant R. Williams.

In the fifties the Columbia River was commonly known in official circles as the Oregon River, the war secretaries usually so speaking of it in their orders and reports. Columbia Barracks was another name for Fort Vancouver.

The War Department then was much taken up with military roads. In Oregon a number of such roads were located, among them one from Camp Stewart to Myrtle Creek, one from Myrtle Creek to Scottsburg, one from Vancouver to The Dalles and one from Astoria to Salem. Lieutenant John Withers, Lieutenant George H. Derby and Lieutenant George H. Mendell, all of the Engineer Corps, had charge of these road enterprises in 1855, 1856 and 1857. Lieutenant Withers had a bit of unpleasantness with Colonel W. W. Chapman, the well-known Oregon pioneer, who enjoined him in the Territorial Court, but Hon. S. F. Chadwick came to the assistance of the army officer, and had the injunction set aside. Lieutenant Derby suggested that sixteen feet wide for the road from Astoria to Salem was sufficient, instead of one hundred feet in his orders. He found it difficult to get laborers at \$60 a month, owing to a gold discovery at Colville. He opened twelve and two-thirds miles of the road at the Astoria end, and Lieutenant Mendell added forty miles more in 1857. It was only a trail over much of its length, available for pack animals and the driving of live stock. Mendell thought that \$600 a mile would construct a fair road from Astoria to Tualatin Plains, a distance of about fifty miles.

In 1855 there were two United States Land Districts in Oregon—the Willamette and the Umpqua, with offices at

Oregon City and Winchester, the latter being established that year. During the latter half of 1854 the lands sold were only 1,766.70 acres, for which \$2,208.37 were paid. During the first half of 1855, 4,592.66 acres were sold, the cash receipts amounting to \$5,740.82. The business was all done at Oregon City. The lands surveyed but not offered for sale in Oregon Territory in 1854-5 aggregated 1,332,214 acres.

C. K. Gardiner, Surveyor-General in 1855, reported surveying 1,450 donation claims, leaving 350 to be surveyed under contracts made. He then had twelve parties in the field. He urged extension of the surveys into the country east of the Cascade Mountains. His deputy surveyors in 1853 were Daniel Murphy and Anson G. Henry; in 1854, Harvey Gordin, Josiah W. Preston, Joseph Hunt, Lafayette Carter, Daniel Murphy, Matthew O. C. Murphy, Nathaniel Ford, G. Clinton Gardner, Charles J. Gardner, Ambrose N. Armstrong, Butler Ives, George W. Hyde, Andrew W. Patterson and Harvey Gordon; in 1855, Joseph Trutch, John W. Trutch, Zenas F. Moody, Harvey Gordon, Charles T. Gardner, Wells Lake, George W. Hyde, Ambrose N. Armstrong, Addison R. Flint, Dennis Hathorn, Nathaniel Ford, Lafayette Carter and Thomas H. Hutchinson. The same men were engaged in the surveys of the year following. In 1857 Samuel D. Snowden, Sewell Truax, Alex. C. Smith, David P. Thompson and E. T. T. Fisher engaged as deputies in the surveys. Several of the men named, in after years, became very prominent in the business and political affairs of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. In 1855 Gordon reported that he had encountered extraordinary and unexpected difficulties. He had worn out his first lot of helpers by using them as pack animals over the coast mountains, it being impossible there to use horses; his second lot of men took the gold fever, and wages went up from \$52 a month to \$100. The work had so far cost him \$930, which was \$290 more than he had received, and to prevent further loss he asked to be allowed to relinquish the remainder of the undertaking. Completed surveys during

the year ending June 30, 1856, covered 836,036 acres. At this time John S. Zieber was Surveyor-General of Oregon. His estimate of expenses for the year was \$89,030. Difficulties with the Indians hampered the surveyors, and when these were not in the way gold discoveries and excitements had like demoralizing effects. The Federal Government was not willing to pay the current wages in the country, nor would it pay as much in Oregon as it would pay for like services in California. The surveys in the latter State were pushed much more rapidly, the allowances for that purpose being three, four or five times greater than for Oregon.

Referring to the troubles confronting him, Surveyor-General Zieber, September 17, 1856, reported as follows:

“The surveys in Southern Oregon have not progressed as they would have done in the absence of Indian hostilities. Surveyors stood aloof from taking contracts, and those who were in the field, in addition to other causes operating against them, were greatly hindered by an unusual deal of cloudy weather. When Indian difficulties began to decrease, the season had too far advanced to justify the commencement of any new contract.

“In a communication from this office, under date of June 17, 1856, replying to your letter of inquiry of April 26, 1856, I gave a number of reasons why skillful and reliable deputies cannot be had at rates lower than those now paid. The partial cessation of Indian hostilities, and, probably, early restoration of peace within our borders, may remove some of the causes which have heretofore prevented a reduction of those rates; but as these occur, others take their places. It is already found that, as in former years, the mines in the vicinity of Fort Colville, and especially those in Southern Oregon, as Indian hostilities abate, draw off laboring men from every county in the Territory. The most exciting reports of success in the gold mines abound, and operates greatly against the deputy surveyor in employing assistants, except at prices which are not warranted even by the apparently high government prices of surveying in Oregon. The assistant asks more than the contractor himself can rationally expect to clear; he abandons the field, and perhaps both prefer to take their chances in ‘the diggings.’

“The public lands which remain to be surveyed in Oregon are probably rougher than any that have ever been sectionized in the Territories of the United States. Scarcely an unsurveyed township of land can be found without canyons, ravines, or precipitous hills; and most of the unsurveyed territory abounds in heavy timber, (often standing and fallen,) dense tangled undergrowth of bushes, briars, fern, and grass, in many places covering a rocky surface almost impassable. A deputy surveyor (Mr. J. W. Trutch) informs that, in a distance of 100 miles, in prosecuting contract No. 61, it was found impossible to convey provisions except by packing on the backs of men. Actual experience in the field of operations alone can give an adequate idea of the energy and perseverance indispensable to the successful prosecution of a surveying contract in such a region of country. To realize large profits from the best contract that can now be let is out of the question; and to reduce the rates of surveying would be ruinous to contractors, if any could be found to undertake the work.

“Should the present expectation of peace with the Indians of Oregon be realized, and no unforeseen obstacles present themselves, I think the surveys of all the public lands west of the Cascade range of mountains, fit for residence and cultivation, may be completed by the end of the year 1858. If any should remain, they will consist of small fractional townships along bases of mountains, or in mountain gaps, or on mountain summits, apart and detached from the surveyed lands.

“Believing that the proper period has arrived to authorize the extension of the Oregon surveying district east of the Cascade Mountains, I renew the recommendation to that effect found in the last annual report from this office. The lands lying between the Cascade and Blue mountains, and particularly those on the Des Chutes, John Day, and Umatilla, are valuable and desirable, especially for stock farming. At the Dalles of the Columbia a business town (Dalles) has sprung up: a number of enterprising settlers have taken claims, and made considerable improvements. Settlements had also been made before the war at Whitman’s Station and on the Umatilla. These will be soon resumed and increased in number; and on the positive restoration of peace, emigrants will repair to other points on the banks of the Columbia and the above-named rivers. The surveys should precede the settlements, and the amount necessary for this purpose is named in Estimate E.”



In 1858 the Surveyor-General again officially adverted to these matters, saying:

"It was intimated in my annual report, under date of September 17, 1856, that if the then looked for peace and quiet with the Indians in Oregon should be realized, and no adverse circumstances should present themselves, the surveys of all the public lands fit for settlement and cultivation, west of the Cascade range of mountains, might be completed by the end of the current year. And if any of the public domain should remain unsurveyed it would consist of fractional townships along bases of mountains, in mountain gaps, and on mountain summits, apart and detached from the surveyed lands. But Indian difficulties in Southern Oregon have only recently been brought to an entire termination, and the ever-recurring reports of new discoveries of gold, and consequent excitement and inflation of prices of labor, and its products, were sufficient to retard surveying operations, and defeat the fulfillment of the hope of 1856. However, even in the absence of these circumstances, it would have appeared that the appropriations for continuing the surveys west of the mountains, in this district, were inadequate to meet the expense of completing the work. It is now probable that every appropriated dollar will be consumed by surveys under existing contracts.

"Since the disappearance of hostile Indians from the entire southeastern portion of Oregon, it has been found that there is more land suitable for farming and grazing purposes than there was supposed to be in that part of our Territory. The hostile savage being out of the way, and there being a constant demand for beef cattle and agricultural products in the mining districts north and south of it, this land will doubtless soon be sought and occupied by farmers, and other persons. The surveys should therefore be extended over them.

"It may be proper here to note the fact that there are several tribes of Indians usually found near Klamath Lake, among whom are the Klamaths, Modocks, and Pintes, many of them, probably, properly belonging to California. Their reported number is about 600, but their actual number is not known, no census having ever been taken of them. As these Indians are not known to have manifested any hostilities, within the last four years, to the whites of Oregon, I would respectfully suggest the propriety of providing for negotiations with them for the purpose of securing their assent to the



settlement by citizens of the United States of the lands in their vicinity, and of extinguishing their claim thereto, in whole or in part. They are occasionally found roaming over that portion of territory designated on the accompanying diagram, as proposed to be surveyed south of the eighth standard parallel south, and between ranges nine and sixteen east. That settlers will soon be seeking homes in that region of country does not admit of doubt. I am credibly informed, by deputy surveyors and other persons who have seen the country, that the land is among the most desirable in Oregon, well watered, apparently fertile and easy of cultivation. The water courses have a southwest direction, emptying into the Klamath River in California; and the lands in California lying immediately south of those above referred to have been subdivided by the government surveyors of that district. \* \* \*

“Dalles is the county seat of Wasco County, which polled nearly 300 votes at the last June election. The citizens are anxious to witness the commencement of surveying operations in their section of country. There are also considerable settlements and improvements on the Umatilla and Walla Walla rivers, where surveys are required; and if Indian hostilities had not interrupted and retarded the progress of settlers and driven them back, the Des Chutes and John Day rivers, and even the far-off but rich and beautiful Grande Ronde country would now contain a large farming and pastoral population, which is sure to flow thither soon as a feeling of security from Indian outrages shall justify it.”

## TWO OF OREGON'S FOREMOST COMMON-WEALTH BUILDERS:

JUDGE REUBEN PATRICK BOISE AND PROFESSOR THOMAS CONDON.

Judge Boise served with high and persistent purpose and fine powers of discernment in molding the institutional life of the State, while Professor Condon had pre-eminence as a student and teacher, whose mind penetrated to the mystery of Nature's past here, and who with finest spirit inspired the minds and hearts of its youth. Both passed out of this life during recent months. Professor Condon died at the home of his oldest daughter, Mrs. H. F. McCornack, near Eugene, on February 11, aged 84 years, 11 months and 8 days. Judge Boise passed away at his old home in Salem on April 10, aged 88 years, 9 months and 22 days.

The following account of the life and services of Judge Boise is taken from the *Daily Oregonian* of even date with the day of his death:

"Judge Boise was born at Blandford, Hampden County, Massachusetts, June 19, 1818. His ancestors followed Washington during the War of the Revolution. He was a descendant of the French Huguenots, and the third child of a family of eight of Reuben Boise, prominent in Massachusetts politics up to the time of his death. His mother's maiden name was Sallie Putnam, a relative of General Israel Putnam, of Revolutionary fame. He is survived by one daughter, Maria Boise, who lived with him to the last; Reuben P. Boise, Jr., a prominent business man of this city, and Whitney L. Boise, one of the leading attorneys of Portland.

"Judge Boise was educated in the public schools of Blandford, and was graduated from Williams College with the degree of A. B., in 1843. He taught school in Missouri one year, and then read law under his uncle, Patrick Boise, of Westfield, and was admitted to the bar in 1847. He practiced law for two years at Chicopee, Wisconsin, and came to Portland, via the Isthmus of Panama, in 1850. He purchased a tract of 640

acres of land near Dallas, in Polk County, which still belongs to the estate, and on which he lived for four years.

"In 1851 Judge Boise was elected prosecuting attorney of the First and Second Districts by the territorial legislature, his field lying between Eugene, Lane County, and the Territory of Washington. In 1853 he was elected one of the code commissioners for Oregon and selected to compile the first laws of the Territory, with two others, James K. Kelly and D. R. Biglow.

"In 1854 Judge Boise was re-elected prosecuting attorney and represented Polk County in the territorial legislature for three years. In 1857 he represented Polk County in the constitutional convention and, as chairman of the committee on legislation, was instrumental in furnishing the fundamental laws of the State Government. In 1857 he was appointed by President Buchanan one of the Supreme Judges of the Oregon Territory, along with Judges Williams and Deady. After Oregon's admission to statehood he was elected to the supreme bench and sat with Judges Waite, Stratton and Prim. In 1868, under the provisions of the constitution, he drew lots for terms with his associate judges, with the result that Judge Waite drew the shortest term of two years and presided as Chief Justice; Justice Stratton drew the four year term, and Judge Boise the six-year term. He held his position on the supreme bench for twelve years. His seat was contested by the late Judge B. F. Bonham, and, rather than enter into litigation, Judge Boise withdrew.

"Judge Boise was elected a member of the Capitol Building Commissioners in 1874, in which capacity he served until 1876, when he was again elected to the supreme bench. Upon reorganization of the Supreme Court, under the constitution, and the creation of the circuit court districts, he was one of the three Justices, with Judges Kelly and Prim. At the first general election he preferred the nomination for circuit judge of the Third District, to which office he was elected, and he continued to serve, with the exception of the years between 1892 and 1898, up to the year 1905, when he was succeeded by Judge William Galloway, of McMinnville.

"Judge Boise had been a resident of Salem since 1857, and, until the year 1865, he lived upon the property which is now occupied by the Sacred Heart Academy. In 1880 he purchased the "Home Farm," of which he still retained sixty acres, and his late residence was the first house built in Salem. He

owned the old Mission mill, house and grounds, a portion of which house was built in the early forties.

“His first marriage was in San Francisco, in 1851, to Ellen F. Lyon, of Boston, daughter of Captain Lyon, a pioneer of the Pacific Coast. From this union two children were born, Reuben P., Jr., and Whitney L. Boise. In 1867 Judge Boise was married again to Miss Emily A. Pratt, a native of Worcester, Mass., the daughter of Ephraim Pratt, a Massachusetts manufacturer, and sister of Captain Pratt, who started the first woolen mill here. Two children were born as the result of this marriage, Ellen, a graduate of the Willamette University, who was drowned in the undertow at Long Beach, Wash., when 22 years old, and Maria, also a graduate of Willamette University, residing here.

“Judge Boise was deeply interested in the agricultural development of the country and was a member, and five times master, of the State Grange. He was also interested in the educational development of the State. He was a member of the first board of school directors in Portland, and twice a member of the board of trustees of the Pacific University, at Forest Grove; held the same position with the La Creole Academy at Dallas and the Willamette University here, and was a member of the board of regents of the Agricultural College, at Corvallis. He was also an honored member of the Oregon Historical Society and of the Oregon Pioneers, and treasured many of his early friendships, among whom are Judge James K. Kelly, a pioneer of 1851, now in Washington; Governor Grover, a pioneer of 1851, and Judge George H. Williams, of Portland, pioneer of 1853, who paid the following impromptu tribute to his memory as part of the funeral service:

“My friends, I have but a few words to say concerning Boise, that was, and whom you all knew as well as I as a man whose entire life was filled with fidelity and the highest ideals of honor. Judge Boise acted well his part on every possible occasion and for this reason he was entitled to all of the praises and honors due him.

“Judge Boise has been more fortunate during his life than has been the lot of many of us in earning and gaining the respect and confidence of all. He was fortunate in his family; his friends, and especially in retaining his faculties unimpaired to the very close of a long and useful life. When I came to Oregon, over fifty years ago, Judge Boise was engaged in the active practice of law, and I have had the pleasure of

seeing him occupy seats of the highest honor the people could bestow, the bench of the supreme and circuit courts, and as a judge he has been absolutely impartial and upright; his private life irreproachable, and in public, above suspicion.

“ ‘But a few days ago Judge Boise was the oldest lawyer in the State of Oregon. Now he has gone and I am the oldest and left to tread down the weary path of life alone, and I feel like one left alone without anyone to look up to in point of years and experience in the line of practice. When a man reaches the age that was attained by Judge Boise he has no occasion to regret to depart this earth, and there is no occasion to mourn his loss. It is just as natural for him to die as he lived. Everything—the tree, the flower, the grass, thrive and fulfill their usefulness on earth and, after they have done their duty, wither and perish; and the same is true of mankind, and it is his duty to act and view as cheerfully as he can the end of this life which is inevitable.

“ ‘His beloved family and friends need not grieve over his departure from such a long life of toil and high accomplishments, for they can look back upon his record with pride and full satisfaction. Spring is a most appropriate time for an old man to take his departure from this earth, when there are spring flowers, birds and everything to brighten and cheer him on to the end with their sweet fragrance and mirthful song, symbolic of a life of happiness, joy and prosperity. When the sun goes down and sheds its golden hues over the earth which is about to be clothed in darkness, so an old man like Judge Boise dies with all the glories of a setting sun. And when it is all over we can all join in saying: Well done, good and faithful servant. Rest in peace.’ ”

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The work of Professor Condon represented the deepest devotion through scholarship to the soul needs of his fellowman. Through his genius for discerning the thought and spirit of God in His works and his noble concern for the upbuilding of the higher life of the community, Thomas Condon ministered to two fundamental needs of the people of the Pacific Northwest and was even a benefactor to the world at large. Wide and deep research among the rocks and strata of the Oregon region accumulated data that his constructive imagination



developed into an entrancing vision of what and of how God had wrought here. Under the spell of this vision the faith of many wavering under the shock and confusion from the then newly sprung theory of evolution, was led to a higher plane. He was so deeply concerned about this spiritual interest of his fellowman, because life to him as he lived it day by day was an affair of the soul. Thus he made it his mission to minister to its strength and serenity.

So original were his investigations in his field, so large and deep his comprehension of their significance that when the full history of the theory of evolution is written his name will stand among those of its chief collaborators. Such was his part in enlightening the thought of the world at large.

His second great ministry consisted in his giving the people of the Pacific Northwest the full possession of this land as their home. Of course the earlier pioneers were using it to furnish food and raiment for their bodies, but Thomas Condon more than any other man has made this region the source of material of thought and sentiment. Before his work the civilized man could exist on its surface. Thomas Condon's genius and labors prepared the key that opens to us glorious vistas into the past of this region and into all the phases of the processes of Nature here so that man can be at home here as the Athenians were on the Acropolis and can engage all the higher faculties of his being. The story and word pictures in his "Two Islands" give us and our posterity, more than any other single source, an indefeasible birthright to what God has created here for the sustenance of soul life.

The following account of his life, investigations, and services as a teacher, is found in a memorial volume recently published by the University of Oregon:

"There was a limestone quarry near the home of Mr. Condon's childhood that must have made a deep impression upon his thoughtful mind and shed the affectionate glamour of early association over his study of the rocks, for his interest in geology began with his childhood.

"Fortunately for him his family left the old home in South-

ern Ireland and, crossing the Atlantic, made their home in the city of New York. Here we find the future scientist an active, wide-awake boy, full of life and with a strong appetite for knowledge. Some of his leisure hours were utilized in exploring the Old Revolutionary fortifications near the city. And occasionally he spent a half holiday hunting rabbits in the wilds of what is now Central Park. A few years ago, in speaking of those days of his boyhood, he referred to his study of algebra and then said: 'But when I took up geometry it lifted me to the clouds. I drank it in as a mental food.' It seemed to be the pure, beautiful logic, the perfect chain of reasoning, that appealed to his mind.

"At about eighteen years of age, he was working, studying, and teaching in Camillus, Skaneateles, and other places in Central New York, where he finally entered the Theological Seminary at Auburn while teaching in the evening school at Auburn States Prison. The history of those years in the lake country of Central New York would read like a romance of extreme interest. But in spite of all difficulties he spent many leisure hours among the hills and quarries gathering fossils and studying the geological formation of the region.

"But he had heard of the Whitman Mission in the Far West and had made up his mind to go as a home missionary to the Oregon Country, and in 1852, with his young bride, he sailed in a clipper ship around Cape Horn for San Francisco. After a long and eventful voyage they found themselves in the newly settled and unexplored Oregon. Trappers had long known it as a land of furs; miners had known it as a land of gold; the early pioneer had found it a country with rich and fertile soil; but its scientific resources were still undiscovered. The questions that had dawned dimly upon his mind as he played by the stone quarry of his childhood, the questions that were kindled into life as he studied the fossils of Central New York, the questions of the how and wherefore of creation must have come to him with new force as he looked out upon the fertile valleys, grand mountains, and noble rivers of his new home.

"But the activity of these first years left but little time for scientific research; for new homes must be built, land cleared, crops planted, schools started, churches organized, and hostile Indians subdued, and there were but few of these labors of pioneer life in which he did not take an active part.

"After ten years of life in Western Oregon Mr. Condon, wishing for a more needy field, moved his family to The

Dalles, then the head of navigation on the Columbia, the gateway through which all the rough, reckless mining population must pass on their way to the newly discovered gold fields of Eastern Oregon. Here, too, was an army post from which men and supplies were sent to all parts of the Northwest.

An army officer returning from an expedition against hostile Indians brought Mr. Condon his first Eastern Oregon fossils from the Crooked River country. These fossils aroused the keen interest of the student of nature and in 1862 or '63 he obtained permission to accompany a party of cavalry carrying supplies to Harney Valley. They returned by way of old Camp Watson, on the John Day River, and here Mr. Condon found his first fossils in the now famous John Day Valley.

"These glimpses of this fossil field only served to make him eager for more, and as soon as the Indians had been subdued and it was safe to venture among those hills and ravines without an army escort, Mr. Condon spent his vacations exploring in the John Day country. On one of these trips he found and named Turtle Cove, which has since proved to be one of the richest fossil beds in the valley. He employed young men to spend their summers collecting the fossils exposed by the wear of winter storms. He made friends with the rough teamsters who drove the great government freight wagons from Fort Dalles to the army posts in the wilderness. As these teamsters returned with empty wagons they often brought a few rocks or a fine box of fossils for their new friend at The Dalles. In a few years Mr. Condon found in his possession a large quantity of valuable material that must be classified and described. But he was without scientific books, was thousands of miles from the great libraries and museums of the East, and far from other scientists with whom to confer.

"Fortunately, at this time the United States Government was making its famous geological survey of the fortieth parallel, embracing a strip of land one hundred miles in width, and connecting the geology of the great plains east of the Rocky Mountains with that of California and the Pacific Coast. One evening as this great work was nearing completion, Mr. Condon was delighted to learn that Clarence King, the leader of the survey, had reached The Dalles, and he lost no time before meeting this distinguished geologist. Mr. King was deeply interested in the pioneer discoverer's account of Oregon geology and the next day found him in the Condon home studying the unique collection.

“Not later than the spring of 1867 Mr. Blake, an eastern geologist, visited the cabinet at The Dalles, and on his return voyage carried with him a few specimens of fossil leaves originally from Bridge Creek in the John Day Valley. These were perhaps the first Oregon specimens to find their way to the Atlantic Coast. They soon fell into the hands of Dr. Newberry of Columbia College, New York, who, being a specialist in fossil botany, longed earnestly for more. After talking with Clarence King in Washington, and learning from him more of the Oregon geologist and his country, Dr. Newberry wrote Mr. Condon in 1869 and received in response a box of fossils of which he writes: ‘I received your two letters with great pleasure. Since then the box has safely come to hand and that has given me still greater satisfaction, for I found it full of new and beautiful things which fully justified the high anticipation I had formed judging from your letters and the specimens brought by Mr. Blake.’

“In the autumn of 1870, Arnold Hague, also connected with the geological survey of the fortieth parallel, spent a month in Oregon, part of the time being at The Dalles in discussion over the geological problems of the Columbia River region. That this visit was a source of mutual pleasure is shown by a subsequent letter in which Mr. Hague refers to his ‘month in Oregon in 1870 as one of the pleasant memories of the past.’

“But a new era was dawning for ‘the Oregon Country.’ The first transcontinental railroad had touched the Pacific and with it came many large parties of cultured tourists who, wishing to look upon the grand scenery of the Columbia, found themselves obliged to spend the night in The Dalles. In this way it often happened that late in the afternoon a party of fifteen or twenty ladies and gentlemen would gather at the home of the Oregon geologist and spend a pleasant hour studying the life of past ages.

“In 1870 Mr. Condon shipped his first boxes of specimens to the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, and from there they were sent to Dr. Leidy of Philadelphia Academy of Sciences for expert examination. The National Museum was glad to receive these new fossils from the Pacific Coast and promised its official assistance in every way possible.

“A few months later of this same year Professor Marsh of Yale College wrote from San Francisco as follows: ‘I have heard for several years a great deal of the good work you are doing in geology and of the interesting collection of vertebrate



fossils you have made, and I intended during my present visit to the Pacific Coast to come to Oregon and make your acquaintance personally and examine your fossil treasures which my friends, Professor George Davidson, Clarence King, Mr. Raymond, and others had often wished me to see.' And a little later Professor Marsh writes urging that all fossils of extinct mammals be sent to Yale to be used by him in a work on paleontology gotten out by the United States Government in connection with the survey of the fortieth parallel.

"During these years many Oregon fossils found their way to the educational centers of the East. If they were fossil leaves they were sent to Dr. Newberry of Columbia College; if shells, to Dr. Dall of the American Museum of Natural History; if fossil mammals, to the Smithsonian or to Marsh of Yale or Cope of Philadelphia. A few of these were sold, some of them were sent in exchange for eastern fossils, but most of them were simply lent in order that they might be classified and described by scientific experts.

"In May, 1871, Mr. Condon published in the *Overland Monthly* his paper on 'The Rocks of the John Day Valley.' And in November of that year his article entitled 'The Willamette Sound' appeared in the same magazine. The latter was perhaps his favorite of all his geological writings. He felt that 'The Rocks of the John Day Valley' might need revising after a more thorough exploration but that 'The Willamette Sound' would endure. Both of these papers are given in 'The Two Islands,' published in 1902.

"Mr. Diller of the United States Geological Survey has virtually accepted 'The Willamette Sound' and incorporated its substance in his report of the geology of Northwestern Oregon, his only criticism being the suggestion that the waters of the sound were probably even higher than noted in the original publication. These two papers fairly represent Mr. Condon's strength as a constructive geological worker. They indicate his ability to begin at ocean level and by means of mountain upheavals, marine and like sediments, fossil leaves and bones, and volcanic outflows, to reconstruct and make wonderfully vivid the geological past of a new country.

"From this time on, the sense of lonely isolation that had so hampered him in his work, gave place to the most cordial intercourse between the Oregon pioneer and distinguished scientists of the United States and Canada. In 1871 Mr. Condon had the pleasure of showing Professor Marsh and a large party



from Yale College through this new fossil field, and a little later Professor LeConte of the University of California was introduced into the same John Day Valley. The latest scientific publications began to find their way into Mr. Condon's library in exchange for information and material freely given to eastern workers. The stimulus of all this stirring intercourse by exchange, correspondence, or personal conversation with some of the most learned men of the age, was a great boon. Life in the strength of his manhood was full of buoyancy and joy, a grand opportunity for usefulness.

"It gave Mr. Condon real pleasure to sit down beside a rough block of sandstone with only the corner of one glistening tooth in sight, to pick and chip and chisel until another tooth and part of the jaw were seen, to continue with careful skill until the beautiful agatized molars were laid bare, to work patiently on until there stood before him, no longer the shapeless mass of stone, but a fine fossil head to add its testimony to the record of the past. But it gave him greater pleasure still, to work with rough, unpolished human character and discover the glint of gold hidden under the rough exterior. The book of nature was indeed fascinating but did not appeal to him as did the work with men. He had the artist's eye for seeing the beautiful in character and the enthusiasm of a sculptor for shaping rough, faulty human nature until its beauty reflected the Divine.

"To many minds, these two lines of interest, the development of character and the study of nature, would seem incongruous, but to him they were both God's truth, the one the preparation, the other the culmination of God's work. And yet, strange and unusual as is this combination of geologist and minister, it seemed exactly what was needed to equip one for usefulness thirty or forty years ago. For these were years of great stir in the scientific world.

"The author of 'The Origin of Species' and 'The Descent of Man' had given his theory of evolution to the world. The grand truths developed by that galaxy of brilliant English writers, Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, and others, had been seized by materialists who were calling upon all thinkers to discard the Bible as out of date because not in harmony with scientific thought. Christian ministers were not scientists and the principles of 'Higher Criticism,' if thought of at all, were considered dangerous heresies against which to warn their people. To Mr. Condon the theory of evolution presented to the human

mind a wider conception of God than the world had ever known. It involved a plan of unthinkable grandeur; beginning with the smallest, simplest things, gradually unfolding into more complex life, often interrupted by some great upturning of nature, but never losing the continuity of purpose, the steady progress toward the culminating glory of all: the spiritual life of man.

"To have all this new wealth of spiritual vision appropriated by materialists was a source of deepest sorrow. The storm, starting on the intellectual heights of Europe, was slowly traveling westward. A little later magazines were full of the subject and materialism was creeping into college life with the claim that evolution was antagonistic to religion. The young men who studied science found few leaders so endowed as to interpret the beautiful adaptation of the doctrine of evolution to the spiritual life.

"Mr. Condon saw that the old ramparts erected by theologians were no longer a safe retreat; that the church must be defended even by science itself, and he longed to help unfurl the Christian banner over this newly discovered realm of truth. He felt his most effective work could be done with his cabinet in shaping the immature minds of Oregon's sons and daughters. This, with the growing educational needs of his family, finally led him, in 1873, to take his place with the faculty of Pacific University at Forest Grove, and late, in 1876, to accept the chair of Geology and Natural History in the State University.

"In 1876, shortly after reaching Eugene, Mr. Condon, in company with a son of ex-Governor Whiteaker, made a trip to the Silver Lake country in Southeastern Oregon. Here they gathered a fine collection of beautifully preserved fossil bird bones, which were sent east to be described, but seemed too rare and valuable to be returned, for, in spite of many efforts to recover them they were finally lost to the rightful owner. Fortunately, they had been previously examined and described by Dr. Shufeldt, an expert in the study of fossil birds, and to him we are indebted for much interesting knowledge of the ancient life of the region. This same locality has also yielded some of the finest specimens of fossil mammals in the State.

"By this time Oregon had passed out of its pioneer stage and was looking to a broader expansion of statehood, with all its hidden possibilities of industrial development. Men were asking, 'Have we coal in Oregon?' 'How shall we utilize our

gold-bearing black sands?' 'Have we the right geological formation for artesian water?' 'Have we cement rock, copper, or limestone?' Letters on all of these and many other problems kept coming to Mr. Condon from near and from far. These questions and the investigation necessary for their answers resulted in his acquiring an extensive knowledge of the industrial problems of the State. If any one wished to bore for artesian water, his advice was asked. The discoverer of a fresh prospect for coal, copper, asbestos or marble, must send him a sample specimen and ask his opinion of its value, and he was always ready with a word of advice, a bit of encouragement or a needed caution.

"All these years he had been glad to share his rapidly increasing knowledge with the people of the Northwest. The old river steamers and slow moving trains of early Oregon often carried him to fill lecture engagements, and he was usually cumbered with many heavy packages of specimens and choice fossils to illustrate his subject. Sometimes the lecture would be before a cultured Portland audience; sometimes it was a course of lectures for some growing young college or perhaps a talk to the farmers at the State Fair upon the formation and composition of soil. But as the years passed, most of his time and strength were given to his teaching at the University, while his summer vacations were spent with his family at his Nye Brook Cottage by the Sea.

"Here his life was almost unique, but it again brought him into the most friendly relations with many classes of people from all parts of the Northwest. Sometimes there were formal lectures before a summer school, but more often there was an informal announcement that 'Professor Condon would lecture on the beach,' perhaps near Jump-off Joe. And here his audience would gather around him in the shelter of the bluff or headland, some standing, some sitting on the rocks, others perched upon the piles of weather-bleached driftwood, while the children sat 'Turk fashion' upon the dry, glistening sand. And he, with his tall alpine stalk in his hand, his broad hat and loose raglan coat made a picturesque figure standing in their midst. Perhaps he talked of the three beaches, the one upon which they stood and the two old geological beaches so plainly visible in the ocean bluff behind them. The banker, the college president, the physician from a distant part of the State, the young city clerk, the carpenter, the teacher of the country school, the farmer and his family taking an outing by

the sea, even the high school boy, and the children, all listened with interest. And when the talk was over and all their questions had been answered, the motly gathering strolled leisurely away. But the rolling breakers at their feet, the hurrying scud and blue summer sky, all had a new significance as they pondered on the mystery of creation.

“Or perhaps a geological picnic was planned up the beach to Otter Rocks. After a brisk ride of a few miles over the hills and along the beach, Mr. Condon’s carriage would stop, the other vehicles would group themselves around near by, and, standing in his conveyance, he would give a short talk on the geological formation of the particular cove or headland with its base of old standstone full of fossil shells. Then the company would move on, and after a few more miles of delightful beach ride upon the hard sand near the breakers, they would leave their carriages, gather their picks, hammers, and chisels and spend an hour chipping fossils from the bluff or from the large boulders at its base. The next stop would be to lunch near Otter Rocks and explore the unique Devil’s Caldron or Punchbowl and the interesting beach beyond.

“But the most common picture, the one that must make the Condon Cottage at Nye Beach an almost sacred spot for some, was the party strolling homeward from a morning on the beach—especially at low tide. They always stopped beside his cottage door to show their treasures to Mr. Condon. There were baskets, tin pails, and all sorts of packages filled with curios gathered on the morning walk; one had a rare shell-fish, another an unusual fossil, some had sea moss, others only a group of bright pebbles, while a few proudly exhibited their water agates. All had their eager questions and his kindly, helpful interest never failed; for if some child but left his cottage door with eyes large and shining with a new joy, because it had caught a glimpse of the beauty of knowledge, he was content. And so his summers passed.

“Meanwhile he had been carrying on his original research work by taking trips to the southwestern part of the State and was slowly filling out his geological map of Oregon.

“Mr. Condon’s love for knowledge was not confined to natural science, for his interests were broad as the universe. To him, human history began with the men of preglacial age, and he sought eagerly for every ray of light that archeological research could throw upon the old Cave Dwellers of prehistoric times. He studied all primitive peoples, their religion, indus-



tries and social development, and endeavored to trace their relationship to common ancestry. There were but few obscure nations of the world in which he was not deeply interested; he knew their past history, their present political condition and struggles for liberty. He prized the history of our Aryan ancestors and treasured their old Vedic hymns as among the first bright glimpses of the human soul in reaching out for its Creator. The religion, art, and literature of the Egyptians, Arabians, Persians, and Greeks were to him a source of great pleasure. He followed the lives of noted statesmen and was most enthusiastic in his admiration for the world's true heroes. All great religious movements, including the higher criticism and the relation of science to religion were matters of absorbing interest. And yet there were but few who knew and loved Oregon's trees, shrubs, and wild flowers so well as he.

"In 1902, after passing his eightieth birthday, Mr. Condon published his 'The Two Islands,' a popular work on the geology of Oregon, which, aside from its scientific value, will be prized for its clearness and simplicity of style and the subtle charm of his own personality as constantly revealed in its pages. It was not written for technical scientists, but for the larger circle of readers who love to catch such glimpses of the progress of creation. No, Mr. Condon was not a specialist, either by nature, inclination, or education. And it was well for the early development of Oregon that he was a true pioneer with a large appetite for all knowledge, a keen pleasure in imparting that knowledge to others, and a broad, sympathetic outlook into the needs of the Northwest. If he had been a specialist he might have received more technical credit in the scientific world, for he discovered many new fossils and named but few. But what is the naming of a few fossils more or less, when compared with the grandeur of such a broad sweep of knowledge, permeated by such a beautiful spirit of helpfulness?

"The pioneer work in this new and unexplored State, so remote from the great centers of learning, required just his type of mind; just his habit of first sketching in the broad outlines and then filling in the details with all their picturesque beauty. For as the artist works, he worked. A colleague who wrought by his side has said of him, that instead of beginning with the minute details and progressing toward the large facts of life, he always began with the broad outlines, the great principles of any subject, and worked down to its details.



“After this active, eager life had passed and failing health gave him ample time for retrospective meditation, he realized that he had lived through a grand period of pioneer history and remarked, as he looked forward into the future in store for the rising generation, ‘I do not know that I would exchange the rich chapters of my own life for all the future opportunities of these young men.’

“For he was the pioneer geologist who, by his own original research, caught the first glimpse of Oregon’s oldest land as it rose from the ocean bed; he saw the seashells upon her oldest beaches; watched the development of her grand forests; saw her first strange mammals feeding upon her old lake shores; he listened in imagination to the cannonading of her first volcanoes and traced the showers of ashes and great floods of lava. He followed the creation of Oregon step by step all through her long geological history and then entered with enthusiasm into the industrial and educational development of her present life.

“But, above all, infinitely above all, he prized and labored for the noble character of her sons and daughters. Is it any wonder that his heart was full of gratitude to God for having guided him into such a rich heritage of life?”

The following statement of Professor Condon’s published contributions to geology, by Chester W. Washburne, appeared in the *Journal of Geology*, Vol. XV, No. 3, April-May, 1907:

“The death (February 11, 1907) of Professor Thomas Condon ended a life little known among scientists, yet a life of considerable service to geology.

“Professor Condon was an unusual man in that he seemed to have no desire to publish the results of his study. There are but few papers, only eight strictly geological, and one book, published over his name. But the writings of the scientists of his day—Le Conte, Dana, Marsh, Cope, and others—are full of references to Dr. Condon, and all of them acknowledge his contribution to science by exploration and theory.

“Condon discovered the famous John Day beds which have so enriched our knowledge of Tertiary vertebrates. Here he found some of the specimens of three-toed horses on which

Marsh based his theory of the evolution of that animal.<sup>1</sup> In this instance Marsh gave the discoverer scant credit for his work, and the type-specimens remained in Yale Museum until after Marsh died. The same thing happened to many other valuable specimens loaned to Marsh, Cope, Gabb, and others. A fine lot of Pliocene birds from Southeastern Oregon, loaned to Cope, were never returned. It was doubtless to the interest of science that these fossils fell into the hands of other men, but it was unjust to Condon not to acknowledge more fully his services, and not to return his specimens. In 1867 Professor Condon printed in the Portland *Oregonian* an account of what he then thought to be the first fossil horses found in America, the same specimens that Marsh described several years later. What a strange contrast between these zealous, ambitious paleontologists, and that lonely, unselfish, but no less devoted worker in the wilderness of Oregon!

"Condon's best friend and occasional companion was Joseph Le Conte, who accompanied him on several trips, and who always gave him the fullest credit when publishing his ideas or observations. These two old lovers of earth-science recall a comparison made by Suess,<sup>2</sup> in writing of an almost unknown geologist, Arnold Escher von der Linth:

"'On the one side stood Sir Charles,<sup>3</sup> the calm, superior philosopher, the lucid thinker and able writer; on the other, dear old Arnold Escher, who intrusted his admirable sketches and diaries to everyone indiscriminately, but to whom every line he had to publish was a torment, and who was perhaps only quite in his element up in the snow and ice, when the wind swept his gray head and his eye roamed over a sea of peaks.'

"From a scientific standpoint Professor Condon's best contribution is doubtless his paper<sup>4</sup> on 'The Willamette Sound.' Condon showed that this Pleistocene body of water filled the Willamette Valley, and extended north to Puget Sound, with a probable length of about three hundred miles. He worked

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1 Professor Henry F. Osborn has said: "I believe that Professor Condon deserves the entire credit of the discovery of the Upper Oligocene horses in the John Day."—*Pacific Monthly*, November, 1906, p. 566.

2 Preface to *Das Antlitz der Erde*, translation by Hertha Sollas.

3 Sir Charles Lyell.

4 "The Willamette Sound," *Overland Monthly*, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 468-73. (San Francisco, 1871); Reprinted as a chapter in "The Two Islands."

out its extent and depth by means of terraces along the Columbia River and the ocean.

“Professor Condon’s book, ‘The Two Islands,’<sup>5</sup> is a popular account of the geological history of the original ‘Oregon Country.’ The Klamath mountain group of Southwestern Oregon and Northern California was an island (Siskyou Island) in the Cretaceous sea, separated from the Sierra Nevada by Diller’s Lassen Strait. The Blue Mountains, however, were not an island (Shoshone Island) at the time, for only in the Upper Cretaceous (early Chico) did the sea reach even the western part of the Blue Mountain region. But Condon’s treatment of the subject brought out the striking geological difference between the two mountain groups and the rest of the State, showing that they are two regions of Paleozoic and Mesozoic rocks surrounded by Tertiary lavas and sediments.

“Thomas Condon was born in Ireland, March 3, 1822. When he was eleven years old, the family moved to New York City; later to the central part of New York State, where Condon finished his education, taught school, and made a collection of New York paleozoic fossils which later formed the nucleus of his splendid collection at the University of Oregon. He graduated from Auburn Theological Seminary in 1852, married Miss Cornelia Holt, and sailed for Oregon by way of Cape Horn.

“For several years he had charge of the Congregational Mission at The Dalles, Oregon, then a small trading post. It was while stationed at The Dalles that Condon made most of his trips into the interior, generally with military parties, gathering the fine Tertiary mammals in his collection. In 1872 he became professor of geology and natural history at Pacific University, resigning in 1876, to accept the same chair in the newly created University of Oregon. Here he remained until 1905, confining his teaching in later years mainly to paleontology. In these last years Professor Condon was too feeble to go into the field, but he had become so well known that people in all parts of the State were constantly sending him new specimens, knowing well the pleasure these gifts brought to the old naturalist who no longer could gather them himself. They were fresh links to the outdoor world, to the scenes of his early activities that he so enjoyed in memory.

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5 “The Two Islands and What Came of Them.” (Portland, Ore.: The J. K. Gill Co., 1902.)

“Condon was one of those rare men that study science from an inherent love of nature, not merely for self-advancement, or for the praise of men.”

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# QUARTERLY

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THE VANCOUVER RESERVATION CASE.

A LEGAL ROMANCE.

By THOMAS M. ANDERSON.

As legal proceedings rarely interest the general public, it may seem presumptuous to assume that many will care to read of a law-suit long since decided. It is only from the fact that the Vancouver case brought to light a singularly interesting episode in Oregon and Washington history, that I venture to give an account of that contest between church and state. Of course, with us the government only deals with a church locally as a legal corporation. The case I will attempt to review concerned property rights only. But the testimony of some of the old pioneer witnesses in the trial was so original and picturesque that it gave a color of romance to dry legal proceedings.

Twenty years ago the Catholic Bishop of the State of Washington brought a suit against the commanding General of the Department of the Columbia and the Commandant of Vancouver Barracks, which involved the title to 430 acres of land within the Post reservation and 210 acres in the city of Vancouver.

The Bishop, as a corporation sole, claimed this land under an act of Congress (the organic act of Oregon Territory), approved August 14, 1848, which provided: "That title to land not exceeding 640 acres now occupied as missionary stations among the Indian tribes in said Territory, together with improvements thereon, be confirmed and established in

the several religious societies to which said missionary stations respectively belong." The Bishop made his claim for a mission which he designated "The Mission of St. James."

The contention between the government and mission took tangible shape in February, 1887, when the Post Commander directed the officer of the day to remove the representatives of the mission beyond the Post limits. That this was done, *manu moliter imposuit*, may be assumed, as it was carried out by one of the most courteous of officers, General, then Captain, Daniel Burke of the Fourteenth Infantry. This apparently harsh proceeding was a tactical move of the Commandant to compel the Bishop to bring suit, as that would throw the burden of proof upon him.

We must now hark back in history, to give an account of the events which led up to this opening of active hostilities.

When Major Hathaway came to the old Hudson Bay Post, with his two batteries of artillery, in 1849, he found in the rear of the stockade an unoccupied church and a little log hut. When he applied to Mr. Ogden, then Chief Factor, for a room in which to store some articles, he offered to rent him the church. Major Hathaway did not want the church, but his Quartermaster did rent and occupy for a time the little log house.

To understand this subject, it is necessary to recall in this connection certain historical facts, because the law of the case depended on points of international law, treaty stipulations, and on certain well authenticated, but often forgotten, incidents in the history of the Northwest.

We must keep in mind that our right of sovereignty over this coast is founded on our claims of discovery and occupancy, and not on the Louisiana Purchase. The Yankee skipper, Gray, was the first to sail into the river, which he named after his bark, the Columbia; Lewis and Clark were the first white men to navigate the river from the mountains to the sea; John Jacob Astor of Waldorf established the first trading post west of the Rocky Mountains at Astoria in 1811. During the War of 1812, the Astor Company was supplanted



by the Canadian Northwest Company, which was absorbed by the Hudson Bay Company in 1821. This company established its headquarters post on the Columbia six miles above the mouth of the Willamette.

It was the policy of those who represented this corporation to hold the territory in which they operated, as a great hunting preserve. Their factors were therefore ordered to discourage agriculture and to encourage trapping, while immigration was avowedly antagonized. This policy was distasteful to Dr. McLoughlin, their Chief Factor in the Northwest. Nevertheless he had to execute his orders with such mitigation of their severity as he could afford to make.

*Pro pelle cutem* was the motto of the company, and one of the jests of the time was that the Hudson Bay people thought more of the skin of a beaver than of the soul of a savage. This cannot be deemed a just reproach, as the Hudson Bay Company was a commercial corporation and not an altruistic association. But if there ever was a man who rose above mercenary considerations Dr. McLoughlin was that man.

Upon the resignation of the Church of England Chaplain in 1838, Dr. McLoughlin applied to the Catholic Bishop of Quebec to send him priests to act in that capacity. In compliance with this request, Fathers Blanchet and Demers were sent to him and duly installed as chaplains of the Vancouver trading post of the company. One of the remote consequences of this proceeding was the law-suit to which your attention is now invited. As these priests were assigned quarters within the stockade of the post and paid a stipend of £100 a year, the Hudson Bay Company claimed that they were servants of the company and not carrying on an independent mission. It is in evidence for them that the Archbishop of Quebec ordered them to attend to the spiritual wants of the servants of the Hudson Bay Company and to establish a mission on the Cowlitz, a river emptying into the Columbia forty miles below the fort. These priests, and others who followed them, did establish missions on the Cowlitz, at French Prairie on the Willamette, at Nesqually on Puget Sound, and many minor

migratory missions among the Indian tribes. They were brave, zealous, devout and self-denying men, who worked hard and did much good. On the other hand, there was ample testimony to prove that the priests were paid £100 a year by the company for their services; that they ate at the company's table; slept in its houses; officiated among its dependents; and that finally the company, in 1846, built them a little chapel just outside the main fort.

To get our historical bearing we must turn back to an earlier date. After the close of our last war with Great Britain, both countries claimed the Pacific Coast, from the north line of California to 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude. The English claim was based on the discoveries of Drake, Cook and Vancouver and the explorations of Mackenzie and Frazer. The basis of our claim has been stated.

As early as 1834 American Protestant missionaries and a few settlers had entered the country south of the Columbia. North of the river the country was claimed by the Hudson Bay people. There were no Protestant missionaries among them. The Catholic missionaries were French priests from Canada. The Oblate Fathers, to which order Blanchet, Demers and Brouillet belonged, took service under the fur company and became zealous partisans.

When Mr. Polk became President, he was at first inclined to support our claim to the entire coast. The people of the Middle West were enthusiastic and strenuous in their demands for the whole of the old "Oregon Country." Whitman's daring ride had impressed the imagination of all. "Fifty-four-forty or fight" was the war cry. Benton, Allen and Linn were the friends of the Northwest in the Senate. But the annexation of Texas induced the Polk administration to compromise on the 49 degree parallel. Had it not been for this unfortunate concession, the Pacific Ocean would now be an American lake.

In 1849 the Hudson Bay Company claimed control over a reservation of twenty-five miles by ten on the Columbia and exercised a kind of vague authority over all country north

of the river. In 1838 the license of the Hudson Bay Company had been extended by the British government for twenty-one years; this would make its privileges terminate in 1859. So, when the military came, the Chief Factor claimed a right for the company to remain and carry on its business under a provision in the treaty of 1846, by which the United States agreed to respect the possessory rights of the company until the termination of its license. Our government claimed its right of sovereignty over this region, not from the treaty of 1846 but from antecedent discovery and occupancy. It followed, therefore, that its donation and pre-emption statutes were enacted for American citizens and not for the gentlemen and adventurers of the Hudson Bay Company.

In the meantime, the priests had been acting as chaplains at Vancouver while missions had been established at the Cowlitz, Nesqually and on the Tualatin plains.

Until Dr. McLoughlin left the service of the Hudson Bay Company, the priests had held their services within the stockade; but Sir James Douglas, who was a zealous Church of England man, moved the Catholic congregation outside the fort, and read church services to his Protestant followers in his own quarters. At the same time he built a chapel for the priests and continued to pay them their £100 a year. There were also a number of Kanakas working for the company, and they also had a preacher, Kanaka William, who held services for his dusky followers in a cabin near the Catholic chapel.

When Clark County was organized in 1850, some citizens tried to locate their county seat within the limits of the post. They divided the lower grounds of the garrison into town lots and sold them at public auction for \$1.60 each, and then applied to the first territorial court for an injunction to restrain the Post Commandant (Major Ruff) and the Post Quartermaster (Captain Ingalls) from constructing the post. The injunction, after due argument, was refused, and the city of Columbia was not built.

Prior to the treaty of 1846, Catholic church administration was under the Bishop of Quebec, subsequently it was trans-

ferred to the diocese of St. Louis. In 1853, Bishop Blanchet was made Bishop of Nesqually, with a jurisdiction co-extensive with the new Territory of Washington. In the meantime, Lieutenant-Colonel Bonneville, Fourth Infantry, had assumed command, and one of his first acts was to invite Father Brouillet to take quarters in the post. There is a tradition, which, however, cannot be verified by positive proof, that Colonel Bonneville himself suggested to the Catholics the idea of claiming title to the reservation.

In May, 1853, Bishop Blanchet filed his claim, but no action was taken on it until the expiration of the Hudson Bay license in 1859, when the Commissioner of the Land Office acknowledged the claim and ordered the land surveyed and set off to it. Against this Governor Stevens protested in behalf of the military, the town of Vancouver and the heirs of Amos Short. Then followed a number of reports and an extended correspondence, until finally Attorney-General Smith decided that the Mission of St. James was only entitled to the ground upon which the church stood. Acting on this opinion, the Secretary of the Interior tendered the church a patent for forty-four one-hundredth parts of an acre, in August, 1883. This was declined. A languid and intermittent correspondence was kept up, as the claim had gotten into the circumlocution office of the Tite Barnacles. All that could be learned was that the case was suspended on questions of courtesy between the Interior Department and the War Department.

The mission could well afford to wait. Witnesses die, the heads of departments change, but the church lives on in *secula saeculorum*. Then, too, the padres were getting along much better with the military than they had with the Hudson Bay barons. Colonel Bonneville had brought them back and allowed them to enclose five acres for their own use in the reservation. With his consent a house was built for the Bishop and gardens and orchards were planted. Indeed, Bonneville and Brouillet got along as pleasantly and convivially together as Robin Hood and Friar Tuck. Then, under the administra-

tion of Major A. J. Dallas, another Catholic building—a two-story frame—was erected for the College of the Holy Angels.

If some of the early Post Commanders seemed to be indifferent as to the rights of the government, it is only fair to say that no one back in the fifties could realize that in fifty years lots would be selling in the city of Vancouver.

After the lapse of thirty-nine years, the spell was at last broken by the Post Commander ejecting the teachers and pupils of the so-called Holy Angels College, tearing down the fences around its enclosure, and taking possession of Heaven's half-acre itself. This trespass on the mission grounds left its representatives no alternative but to ask for an injunction from the courts. To secure this they had to bring suit, and in so doing had to set forth in detail their title to the property.

The suit was brought under the title of: "The corporation of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nesqually *vs.* John Gibbon, Thomas M. Anderson and Richard Zeatman." These defendants, representing the government, were the Department Commander and the Commandant and Quartermaster of the Post of Vancouver Barracks.

First came an order restraining the military authorities from exercising control over that part of the reservation in dispute and giving twenty days in which to show cause why this injunction should not be made perpetual. Accordingly the Department and Post Commander went to Olympia to show cause why. There they met the United States District Attorney, who had been instructed to intervene in behalf of the United States. Then the church filed a complaint, or bill in equity.

The complaint recited at length the decisions and counter-decisions of the Surveyors-General, the Attorney-General, the commissioners and secretaries, and finally set forth that they had to bring suit in equity because the Secretary of the Interior had made a mistake in law; that he was right in his decisions as to questions of fact which induced him to offer them a patent for a half-acre, but wrong in not extending his ruling to the whole 640 acres. Therefore, they claimed that



the court was bound by the decision of the Secretary as to facts and also bound to correct his erroneous decision as to the law. Here was a brilliant piece of legal *leger-de-main*, worthy of the talents of lawyers and churchmen.

At the preliminary hearing, the Post Commander made the point that the Catholic Church was a foreign corporation, therefore could not claim the benefit of the mission clause in the law of 1848. The lawyers received the proposition as a jest and the court "smiled and passed the question by," but the point was destined to receive more serious attention. At this hearing in chambers, February, 1887, the court dissolved the injunction as to all except the five acres actually enclosed. At the spring session of the court, held at Vancouver in April, 1887, the answer of the respondents was filed and the law points argued in demurrer before Judge Allyn. At this hearing all the points of the complainant's demurrers were overruled, the injunction dissolved as to all except the ground upon which the church stood. Testimony was ordered to be taken before a commissioner and then submitted for consideration at the next session of the court.

It now became evident that the crucial question was this: Were the priests at the Hudson Bay post of Vancouver acting as missionaries to the Indians on August 14, 1848?

To meet this question, the writer hunted up dozens of old settlers and wrote scores of letters. Out of the whole number there were comparatively few who had personal knowledge of facts transpiring prior to August, 1848; nevertheless, when the time came, both the church and the military had mustered quite a number of witnesses.

The leading witnesses for the church were a Father Joseph Joset, an old Jesuit priest who succeeded Father DeSmet in his mission in the Coeur d'Alene country; Joseph St. Germain and Marcel Bernier, old Canadian-French trappers and couriers-du-bois; August Rochon, a servant of the priests Blanchet and Demers when they came here in 1838; Mary Petrain, a wife of one of the old Hudson Bay Company's servants; Mary Proulx, the first woman married in the church;

and, finally, one Francis A. Chamberlain, an employee of the Hudson Bay Company, the only one who testified in favor of the mission. They were a queer-looking lot, antiquated and awkward, soiled, snuffy and redolent with a rather too pungent odor of sanctity. Their talk and manners recalled the traditions of a buried past. If they had all floated down the Columbia in a canoe, with red blankets around them, it would have seemed natural and proper.

The leading witnesses for the defense were John Stensgair and Napoleon McGillvray, old Hudson Bay Company servants; William H. Gray, the historian of Oregon and an early pioneer; William H. Dillon, Peter W. Crawford and Silas D. Maxon, Charles J. Bird and John J. Smith, county officials and surveyors; Louisa Carter and Sarah J. Anderson, women who came out as early as the Whitman massacre; and, finally, General Rufus Ingalls and Mr. Lloyd Brooke, who represented the Quartermaster's Department. These witnesses were also advanced in years, but they looked like people who had "kept up with the procession."

The first set of witnesses swore that the mission people were entirely independent of the Hudson Bay Company and intent solely on the saving of souls. The government witnesses testified that the priests were paid and willing servants of the company, and that it was the trappers who converted the Indian women, and that the church here was not a mission but a congregation. The trial also brought to light the fact that the record of the first injunction suit against the post authorities had been cut out of the first record book of the county court and the book itself thrown in the river; but it was recovered, water-stained and mutilated. The testimony of the old witnesses was, apart from its legal value, very interesting. It recalled the feudal ways of the old Hudson Bay barons; the contrasted savagery and gentleness of the Indians; the wild ways of the pioneers; the zeal of the priests; the earnestness of the Protestant missionaries.

One of the questions at issue was: What was a mission? The answer revealed, by a strange sidelight, the difference in

the motives and methods of the Catholic and Protestant missionaries. To the first a mission meant a cross raised in the shadow of the woods, the baptism of savages, the saving of souls. To the latter, mission work meant Christianizing by civilizing. A mission was to be an object lesson in industry, sobriety and prayer. Their purpose was really the same; they only differed in their methods.

The case came up for trial before the district court at Vancouver at the spring term in 1888. It was argued by District Attorney W. H. White for the government representatives and by Whalley, Bronaugh & Northup, counsel for the church. It was decided by Judge Allyn in favor of the defendants. Appeal was then taken to the Supreme Court of the Territory of Washington, and it came up for hearing in January, 1889. After full argument the court decided that the plaintiff had legal remedies for all wrongs complained of and should not have brought suit in equity; that, properly speaking, it was only open to them to bring an action of ejectment; that the matter was a judicial question and not dependent on decisions of ministerial officers.

As to the interpretation of the words of the statute, "Occupied by a religious society as a mission station among the Indian tribes," the court held that "occupied" meant possession, domain, absolute control. The court held that the Hudson Bay Company held such occupancy and domain, and not the church; that the present claimant claimed as the representative of the Bishop of Quebec and that the Bishop of Quebec was not the original grantee; that the American missionary societies were incorporated companies; that the Catholic church was not, as a church, a legally incorporated body under our laws at the time of the grant; that the law was passed to reward American pioneers and not the subjects of another government, which, at the time the Mission of St. James was established, was maintaining an adverse claim of sovereignty. The court also noted the fact that the United States then, by purchase, extinguished the rights of the Hudson Bay Company

and all other British subjects (for £1,200,000) and concluded by giving the decree for the defendants.

A motion for a rehearing was granted, but before the case was re-argued Washington was admitted as a State. The included territory became a judicial district, and in July, 1890, the case was presented and argued *de novo* before District Judge Hanford. He reserved his decision, but on the third of November gave it in favor of the defendants. His opinion was based on a clear and exhaustive analysis of the case. It is for the most part too technical for general interest. He noted the fact that the church took no measures to establish its claim until after the military reservation had been declared, and for that reason the claim of the defendants was superior in equity to that of the plaintiff.

The case finally went up to the Supreme Court of the United States and was heard and decided in the October term of 1894. There was no dissenting opinion and Justice Brewer announced the decision of the court in affirming the decisions of the courts below. The court noted the fact that the Bishop of Quebec ordered the priests to establish the mission on the Cowlitz and that they were directed to report to the Hudson Bay officials only for advice. It held that the decisions of the Commissioner of the Land Office were final as to facts but not as to laws. The fact was noted that when the military took possession of the land in dispute, they found there no representatives of the mission. It was decided that occupancy and possession were absolutely essential to make good the claim. The case of the Methodist Church Mission at The Dalles was cited, where the mission claim lapsed for lack of continued occupancy (U. S. 107.)

The interest in this case is not in the legal decisions, which have no applications to present conditions. It appeals to us as a historic picture.

In recalling the incidents of the long contest, the palisades of the old Hudson Bay fort seem to take shape again on the banks of the Columbia. The triangular pennon of the company, with its rampant beaver and serrated edge, floats again

from the bastions. From the mission church bowered in the locusts we hear the sweet strains of the *Salve Regina*.

But the vision vanishes "Like the baseless fabric of a dream." Where once stood the Indian tepee and a Kanaka village, we see a modern city. Beyond, behold a real fort and living soldiers, and floating over all, the flag, to which sixteen stars have been added since Major Hathaway raised it there, eight and fifty years ago.



## RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN AGENT—III.

By T. W. DAVENPORT.

The teams used at the agency were oxen, several yokes of which were turned over to me by Agent Barnhart, as government property. These cattle lived upon the range all the year, and their habitual feeding ground, consisting of several sections of natural meadow, was upon the Too-too-willa, a small stream flowing from springs at the base of the Blue Mountains, some four miles from the agency buildings on the banks of the Umatilla River. Except for a short time in the winter season, when snow fell to the depth of several feet, which very rarely happened, forage for as many cattle as the agent desired to keep cost nothing. In the winter of '62-'63, although there was a foot of snow for nearly two weeks, our cattle kept in good order upon the rank growth of red-top and rushes along the Too-too-willa. This was also the favorite resort for stock belonging to white settlers living along the west bank of McKay Creek, which formed the western boundary of the reservation.

The number of government oxen was in excess of ordinary needs, since the abandonment of Agent Abbott's visionary scheme of constructing an overshot mill, and some of them had been expended for beef, but the number turned over to me by Mr. Barnhart were equal to all of our demands for team work. Some time in December, Mr. Montgomery, the farmer, reported that two settlers of McKay Creek protested against his using their oxen in Uncle Sam's business. He was asked if they were the same that were placed in his care by me, before they were let out of the corral at the time of the "turn-over." He answered in the affirmative and also that he put his mark upon the horns of every one for which I had receipted. He had no knowledge, however, as to the ownership of the cattle, as he had been at the agency only a few months. He was instructed to say to the neighbor claimants, that I

would hold the oxen as government property until they were proved away from me. Soon after getting my answer they appeared at the agency, to formally present their claim. And in answer to my resolution to hold the cattle, they replied that they were poor men and unable to stand a suit to defend their claim, and they were not disposed to take the cattle from the range while I laid claim to them, as that would be a sure way of getting into law. I appreciated their condition and told them to bring satisfactory proof of their ownership and I would surrender the cattle. To this they gladly assented, and said they would prove by my employees that the oxen did not belong to the government, and also prove their affirmative claim of ownership by their disinterested white neighbors. They did both abundantly.

Mr. John S. White, the superintendent of farming, was not present at the time the property came into my possession and could not say as to their identity. The interpreter was present and when asked if they were the same cattle turned over to me, answered, "Yes," but to the question, "Are they department cattle?" answered "No."

"Antoine, did you know at that time that they were not the property of the government?"

He answered, "Yes."

I then asked him why he stood by, knowing this fact, a silent accessory to the perpetration of such a fraud. His answer was no doubt premeditated. He was visibly agitated, when he responded:

"Mr. Davenport, I am an Indian, and Mr. Barnhart shoots Indians."

Even this abnegation of manhood did not save him from the bullet of an assassin, if circumstantial evidence is valuable in his case, for Antoine mysteriously disappeared from the agency, and Agent Barnhart conjectured that in attempting to walk the foot logs, while intoxicated, he had fallen into the Umatilla and been carried by the strong current into the Columbia. Several years afterwards I inquired of Antoine's sister as to his fate, and she told me that his body was found

at the cascades of the Columbia and that a well-defined bullet hole was observable in his head. No further inquiry was ever made as to the cause of his death. He was a half-breed Indian, and as a rule inquiry as to the cause of death in the whole- or half-breed Indian stops at the bullet hole.

From the foregoing facts, almost every person would infer that Agent Barnhart was the principal offender, but he may have been ignorant as to the identity of that kind of property carried upon his papers, as I was all the time. Such matters must be entrusted to the employees who have charge of them, the superintendent of farming and especially the farmer. The farmer under Agent Barnhart was his brother George, who was present when I accepted the cattle and vouched for the truthfulness of the agent's transaction and the validity of the government's claim. Evidently he knew what cattle belonged to the Indian Department and how many must be turned over to balance his brother's papers. For awhile I assumed that Mr. George Barnhart had made a mistake and that three head of government oxen were still upon the range, to discover which I instructed the farmer to inquire of the white settlers round about, and also to hunt for them himself.

Mr. Montgomery said that he could not obey such instructions, for the reason that he did not want to have people think me "green," neither did he relish the task of hunting for cattle which had no existence except on paper. While he had no personal knowledge of Barnhart's affairs, he said it seemed to be well understood by the employees and many of the Indians that I had been tricked into signing a receipt for three more oxen than belonged to the agency. So I concluded and let the matter drop. Agent Abbott purchased cattle for the use of the agency, in Wasco County, and lost several head on the road. Hearing that four of them bearing the Indian Department brand were still roaming upon the Umatilla Meadows, some twenty miles distant, I secured them and thus made good my loss.

## OREGON SUPERINTENDENTS.

Of the several superintendents of Indian affairs for Oregon with whom I became acquainted and had some knowledge of their work, only two of them, Joel Palmer and Anson B. Meachem, claimed to have any faith in the Indian as a progressive being. The others, Nesmith, Geary, Rector and Huntington, were competent to superintend the machinery of the several agencies in their department, but without any intent, begotten either of Christian duty, scientific curiosity or altruistic feeling, of trying the effect of civilizing stimulus upon him. They were content to perform their official duties satisfactorily to the Washington authorities, to their own fellow citizens, and keep the Indians off the war path. Although at times unsuccessful in all these objects, they did fairly well and received no severe censure from the Oregon people. In truth, the Oregonians were alike deficient in faith as to the progressive nature of the Indian; at least, they were not inclined to waste time and money in trying experiments. Philosophers of a critical turn of mind might still adhere to the opinion that the Indian under proper tuitional conditions would respond as other races had done, but the ordinary observer might well be pardoned for skepticism in that respect. And looking at the humiliating results of missionary work in the Willamette Valley by devoted men and women who preceded the pioneers and with no other purpose than that of civilizing and Christianizing its aboriginal inhabitants, we should not wonder at the incredulity of the Oregon people as to the practicability of any further attempts in that direction. They were simply faithless as the result of experience and there are no patent reasons for being otherwise.

In the year 1851, nearly a score of years after the arrival of the first missionaries in the Willamette, which was the principal seat of their enterprise, only a few wandering, diseased and degenerate remnants were left of the once powerful tribes that reveled in that veritable Garden of Eden, containing at least 6,000 square miles. What there was in such an out-

come to inspire or retain confidence in the minds of the missionaries concerning religious forms and ceremonies, or even preaching, as an uplifting force to the Indian, I shall not try to conjecture, for, being an outsider, probably I do not place as high an estimate upon them as do the sectarians. Whatever they may think, or however they may try to console themselves that their labors were not in vain, though really impotent to ameliorate in any appreciable degree the Indians' social condition, the world's people will credit them with hastening the red brother towards the vanishing point. The belief is common that civilization is poison to the Indian, and Christianity is reckoned as part of civilization. Be that as it may, the subject is worthy of investigation by some one conversant with the missionary work in Oregon and Washington, to show how and why the observable results are so little in correspondence with the claim of the conservative influence of Christianity.

Likely, no more devoted servant of his Master ever lived and labored than the Rev. Cushing Eells, who spent his long life in traveling on horseback, preaching and teaching among the Nez Perces and neighboring tribes of Indians in Eastern Washington, and while it is irrational to suppose that his ministrations could be other than beneficial to the lowly people with whom he labored, the question is often asked, "Does it pay?" "Are the visible results commensurate with the outlay?" Enthusiastic Christians may answer in the affirmative and that the gathering of a few Indians into the fold of the faithful is sufficient reward. Others will say that the life service of such a man as Cushing Eells was worth more than that to the white race. Still, every one must decide for himself as to how his life shall be spent, whether in pursuit of knowledge or of wealth; whether in working to bring about adjustments in the environment to advance his own selfish satisfaction, or pursuing a broader and more liberal purpose of including with his own the general welfare; or still further away from selfishness and actuated by a sense of duty or altruistic impulse, seeking, like Livingston, Eells and others, to carry the gospel of the fatherhood of God and the brother-



hood of man to the benighted of other lands, it is entirely a personal matter, or else individuality and personal responsibility go for naught. Neither can the results be all included in a mathematical expression of dollars and cents, or that of church membership. That was a kindly act of the Good Samaritan going to the relief of the wayfarer who fell among thieves, though in truth a very trifling manifestation of benevolence when compared with the life service of philanthropists who endure toil, hunger, and innumerable bodily discomforts, in their efforts to rescue the victims of injustice, or the heathen from his thralldom of ignorance and sin. And yet that picture of the Samaritan, bending over the body of the prostrate traveler and pouring oil in his wounds, sheds a holy and undiminished light over the whole earth after the lapse of more than a thousand years. How jarring to human sensibilities would be the question, "Does it pay? Is there any money in it?"

I shall not hazard the assertion that the superintendents named as being contented with a perfunctory discharge of their official duties were unbelievers in the efficacy of moral precepts and good works, but it may not be amiss to say that they regarded them as wasted on the Indian. Western people as a rule had no faith in the governmental experiment as a civilizer, chiefly for the reason that the Indian is not wanted, and superintendents were not appointed for altruistic but for political reasons. Hence we should not expect to find those officers at variance with popular opinion, and when a departure did occur the incumbent's official tenure would be short.

General Joel Palmer was the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Oregon Territory, with the title of Commissioner, and he was especially fitted for the work of gathering up the marauding bands scattered over that vast country, then fast settling up by the yearly emigration from the States. Palmer was not at all a doctrinaire or idealist, full of fanciful notions as to the perfectibility of any race, or that all the Indian needed to make him an equal with the white man was

justice. On the other hand, he was a plain, unpretentious, practical and honest man, strong in the conviction that all people show their best traits when well treated and that the world is big enough to give all a fair chance for improvement. He was strong in body, delighted in adventure, and the rough and ready work of an Indian superintendent in early times was well suited to his nature. Those who crossed the plains with him in the year 1845 and 1847 considered him an ideal leader, and the Indians whom he conducted to their reservations gave him the name of "Skookum-tum-tum," the Chinook word for "strong heart." The task he performed in bringing the tribes of Southern Oregon to the Siletz reservation was a very trying one. Only those who know the obstacles presented by the Coast Mountains in the rainy season, can truly estimate the undertaking at its true value. Wagons loaded with the Indians' effects and children too young to walk, were hauled by oxen over mountains never before passed by teams and so thickly covered with brush and fallen timber that every rod of the way had to be hewed out before a wagon could pass. But though numerous mountain streams in flood had to be forded or bridged and every bush gave a shower of rain after the clouds had ceased to pour, Palmer was in his element and the principal source of energy. He never met with failure except when he ran for Governor. Then came an opportunity for those of his fellow citizens who thought him too kind to the Indian, to register their disapproval. They were shortsighted and failed to see that the work he performed was for the general good and especially to protect white people from the forays of lurking savages.

Many of the citizens of the Willamette Valley, which contained at that time by far the larger portion of Oregon's white inhabitants, strenuously objected to establishing Indian reservations at the Siletz, Alsea and Grande Ronde, places almost in contact with their homes, but Palmer was unyielding, and time has abundantly vindicated the wisdom of his selections—that is, if the Indian is to be tolerated in his desire for a temporal existence at all. Palmer was never arrogant, and

while he was firm of purpose he was too kindly disposed to enjoy antagonizing his fellow citizens. Hence he was pleased to explain the reasons for his actions, and he generally had the best of the argument in support of his views. With the Willamette people it was more a matter of feeling than of reason; the tomahawk and scalping knife were before their eyes, and they would not be persuaded that their immunity from those terrible instruments of warfare was more effectually secured when the wielders of them should be taken from their native haunts and placed under the immediate supervision of those whom they would destroy. The tribes at the Siletz were inhabitants of Southern Oregon, a country abounding in topographical conditions most favorable for the Indians' style of warfare, and of ready escape when pursued—a country closely interspersed with rocky hills, canyons, crags, little valleys and almost inaccessible fastnesses where a few secretive foes might successfully resist and decimate the many, however brave and resourceful. Palmer contended that those bands of Indians, though few of numbers, must be moved away from such advantages into a region unknown to them, and where spontaneous nature did not provide so much for their subsistence. General Joseph Lane was of the same opinion, and in truth, sagacious people everywhere, as well as the white people of Southern Oregon, the principal sufferers, were unanimous in sustaining Palmer's decision to move them. It required a fight, in which he and General Lane participated, before they were willing to go.

The work of Palmer stands out in favorable contrast to the official doings of those who succeeded him, but his services, valuable as they were, did not save him from dismissal by the Federal authorities. Conspiring politicians, assisted by local clamor, no doubt effected it. A few jealous or fearful souls were heard to say that Palmer thought more of an Indian than he did of a white man. Probably he thought *oftener* of an Indian than of a white man, while engaged in solving the problems connected with the business in hand, but that an Indian stood nearer and dearer to him, as the quoted accusa-

tion implies, is an unjust because untruthful aspersion of the character of a man who was sagacious enough to see that justice to the Indian meant safety to the whites, and who believed that God made of one blood all the nations of the earth.

After Palmer's unsuccessful run for Governor in June, 1870, the nomination for which was imposed upon him by enthusiastic friends who wished thereby to emphasize their approval of the public services, which had stood the test of more than ten years' experience, he was appointed agent for the Siletz reservation. This was at the beginning of the new departure taken by the government under Grant's administration, of putting the Indian agencies under the immediate influence of the various religious denominations. The Siletz was awarded to the Methodists and the Umatilla to the Catholics. Though Joel Palmer was a Methodist and more of a practical Christian than any other Methodist I knew, he was not a preacher, exhorter, or loudly professing sectarian. Neither did he think that the way to civilization for the Indian was by a religious revival of the camp-meeting order, but through industrial changes that must, to be successful, become habits. A young preacher by the name of Howard had a place there and was directed by his church to bring religious influences to bear upon the unconverted and untaught wards of the government. Agent Palmer was not averse to the church methods of Howard and promoted them by his counsel and presence, when not otherwise engaged. This, however, did not satisfy the fervor of Howard, who insisted that the agent should enter more actively into the religious work, praying, singing, etc. To those who understand the exactions of religious devotees, it is needless to say that the charge of luke-warmness is a very serious one, and, if true, cannot be condoned by the possession of the silent virtues. So Agent Palmer, while above suspicion as to moral character and practical skill in the management of secular affairs, was reported by Evangelist Howard as lacking in religion and, therefore, not a fit man to prove the efficacy of Methodism, in competition with Catholicism, Presbyterianism, etc., in Christianizing

and civilizing the heathen. Of course it would not sound well for the agencies under the supervision of the Methodist church to show inferior results. Such an outcome must not be hazarded even if it required the dismissal of an otherwise faultless officer. Howard lost no opportunity of impressing this view upon his influential brethren, and it gave Palmer about all the trouble he had while he remained at the head of the Siletz agency. The government at an Indian agency is supposed to be lodged in the person of the agent, and while it is so nominally, as a matter of fact he is subject to many lets and hindrances of an extra-legal nature, for the reason that his appointees are recommended by officers of the general government, United States Senators, Representatives, and influential politicians to whom he owes his own office, and are therefore not of his own choosing. Under such conditions, the accepted employees do not regard their nominal head as the source of their advancement and are looking for still further favors from the power behind the throne, which under our political system is seldom harmonious. Any one can predict, from such antecedents, the existence and growth of jealousy and intrigue among agent's so-called appointees, from the beginning. Human beings love power and are in a continual struggle to gain or keep places which afford it, and even when the agent is under no restraint in the appointment of his assistants, courtiers are still to be found.

At the Siletz Agent Palmer had a mixed cabinet, viewed with reference to the sources of their appointment. While all were Republicans, part came from political considerations and part from religious or sectarian influences superadded. Whatever may be said of either, the combination was not a good one for the chief. The agent's son was superintendent of farming and quite competent to manage that department and protect his father's interests of a financial nature. Major Magone and Richard Duvall were liberals in religious matters and were there from personal and political reasons. Others were appointed from sectarian influence. I believe Howard was mustered as school teacher, but his most effective work



was visible in the turmoil he created by his persistent efforts to run the agency on a purely revival basis. The secularists or non-professionals above named and Mr. Baughman, who was a Methodist, attended to their business as doers and teachers of handicraft and gave the agent no trouble.

As a defense against Howard's assaults, Mr. Palmer explained to me that while he had been a conforming Methodist he had never been a shouter, was not gifted in prayer, and he did not see why he should be doubted because nature had denied him such gifts. I did not share his faith in the good intentions of Howard, whom I recognized as an unscrupulous meddler aspiring to the chief place, and I was bold enough to express my opinion publicly. I also advised the General to discharge him at once and ask the Methodists to send a man who would attend to his own affairs and be solicitous in some degree for the welfare of others. Joel Palmer at that time was well advanced on the down-hill side of life and was, therefore, more inclined to avoid conflicts which, in his prime, he would have faced with admirable resolution. So Howard remained to vex his administration. In truth, Palmer, besides being kind and lovable, was brace, determined and resourceful when the occasion demanded, and there were many such occasions in his eventful career. But brave men do not always bear petty annoyances with composure and Palmer was one of that sort. He could fight Indians if necessary but he had no taste or pluck to oppose an arrogant pseudo Christian. He could see no practical way out of the constantly increasing sectarian jangle but to resign his office. I advised against such a course, on his account, and because I saw that the religious experiment, as it would be conducted, must prove injurious alike to the service and churches. I furthermore gave my opinion that the Methodist mutiny so disagreeable to him was confined mainly to the Siletz reservation and that Methodists as a body did not know but that all was peace in his dominions. A half dozen protesting letters solicited by Howard could create quite a tempest in this small Siletz tea-pot, but what is that to the great Methodist denomination?

As a result of my advice, Palmer wished me to confer with some of the leading church members during my visit to Salem the next week, which I did and reported to him their answer confirmatory of my opinion. I met several of them by appointment at the residence of the Rev. J. L. Parrish, and while some of them had received letters from Howard, they had written nothing derogatory to Agent Palmer's well-known character, or expressing a want of confidence in his religious professions. It may be as well to state that Mr. Parrish had been an Indian agent in earlier times and knew something of the task Palmer had before him. He was also a shrewd man of long experience and knew that a mere profession of religion did not take all the selfishness out of human beings. At the close of the conference, Mr. Parrish, with the concurrence of all the participants, said, "Tell Agent Palmer to exercise his own good discretion and be agent. That is what he is put there for. We have not lost confidence in him as a business manager or as a Methodist." This reply was very soothing to the General's feelings, and Howard, hearing by letter from the same source, mended his ways in fear of dismissal.

I cannot pass these references to Palmer without expressing the opinion that of all the men having to do with Indian affairs in Oregon, he was best fitted by natural endowment and practical knowledge to make a success of the benevolent designs of the government to civilize the Indians. I had become acquainted with him the year of our arrival in the Willamette Valley, in the fall of 1851, and that acquaintance ripened into close companionship during the remainder of his life. In the summer of 1872 I had a contract of surveying a part of the Siletz reservation into twenty-acre tracts, preparatory to allotting them to the Indians there, and Palmer attended personally to the work nearly every day, wading with us the Siletz River whenever the occasion required. He saw before the subdivision was made that the lots should be the long way north and south, to give more of them a frontage on the river, and he so reported to the Indian Superintendent Meacham, who procured an order to that effect from Surveyor-General Odell,

thus changing the previous method of subdivision. The Siletz Indians, however, were at that time opposed to any system of allotment and secretly destroyed the land-marks of the survey, pulling up corner posts, cutting down or burning bearing trees and leveling mounds, so that a new survey was required and the allotment was not made until the Indians were favorably disposed, some twenty years afterwards. I was often amused during the survey to see Palmer, then an old man, roll up his trouser legs above the knees and wade to the depth of his waistband, and he seemed to be equally amused as the water rose above his calculations, an unexpected denouement which brought from him one of those hearty and contagious laughs mixed with a quotation from Burns, "The best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley."

Palmer was a very pleasant companion, whether in agreement or disagreement as to opinion, and I feel to write that he was truthful, honest, benevolent, resolute and sagacious, and these qualities so predominated and shone in his face that no further recommendations by words were necessary to gain and hold the confidence of those who came in contact with him. Indians are sharp-eyed observers and seldom miss a true estimate of character as shown by physiognomy and manner of expression. They are also adroit enough to keep their real opinions to themselves, concerning the powers that be, but after such reason for silence is past, we can learn who stood highest in their estimation and upon whose promises they mostly relied. They were Governor Isaac I. Stevens and Joel Palmer. Those good men no doubt thought that it is cheaper to feed than to fight Indians, but such an opinion did not interfere with the humane desire to afford them a fair opportunity to come up in the scale of civilization. They did not look upon the agency system as a ruse to defraud the government and cheat the Indian out of this, his only chance of holding an earthly heritage for his race.

Eastern philanthropists were of the opinion that Superintendent A. B. Meacham was the sole representative of applied

Christianity in the treatment of the West Coast Indians, an opinion not shared by the white Christians of that region, who were, on that account, held to be but slightly advanced in the Christian scale. What Mr. Meacham ever did to earn his Eastern reputation, I have not heard. He was given to egotistical display and florid if not fanciful speech, but in works he was not ahead of others who made no pretensions to excellence in ideas or practice. I attended several of his meetings, at which he had gathered a goodly company of Indians, mainly of the chiefs and headmen of the tribes in his district, but his purpose in holding such meetings was neither declared nor obvious. He did not propose anything new; he did not exhort to a more thorough and faithful performance of the work expected to be performed by the agents, and the red brothers on exhibition had long before learned the utter folly of resistance to the white millions then reaching from sea to sea. The people of Oregon saw no rational object in Mr. Meacham's movements or speeches and consequently they did not credit him with being a reformer. They did not think he was a misguided and honest enthusiast.

I presume that Oregonians generally and people in the East, who were interested in the Indian problem, read in his "Wigwam and Warpath" how he refused the surgeon's prescription of brandy stimulus to revive him in his wounded condition, for the reason that he was opposed to the use of alcoholic liquors; that it was against his principles. His Eastern admirers, however, did not know that at that time and long before, at his Blue Mountain tavern, liquors were on sale to all comers. People unacquainted with such facts judged the Oregon people severely for their want of faith in Mr. Meacham, but really they were not to blame for there was nothing in his official career as Superintendent of Indian Affairs to warrant a different opinion.

#### INDIAN LANGUAGES.

Common people, even of the enlightened type, seldom feel the full significance of the language they employ to express

their feelings, thoughts and desires. They are so much in the habit of speech from infancy up that they are unconscious of its life and growth, and how sadly deficient they would be as social beings if it were not for that medium of communication. Although I had spent much time in and out of school, striving to become proficient in the use of my mother tongue, and had delved somewhat into the written language of the Latins, I never really waked up to the great sphere which language occupies in human life, until I got to the West Coast and frequently found myself among human beings with whom I could hold no converse except by inarticulate grunts or visible signs. It is the lack of an absolutely essential thing which enables one to measure its value.

Shortly after arriving in the Willamette Valley, I was traveling in a part sparsely settled by white people, and meeting a company of mounted Indians, desired to inquire the way to the point I wished to reach. As it was near night-fall and I had neither food, blankets, nor matches to light a fire, I felt quite anxious to know something of distances and direction in this new country, without guide boards and plainly traveled roads. I was ignorant of their language and they knew not mine. Fortunately they knew the names of the most noted white settlers among the older residents and when I mentioned one, they pointed in the direction and tracing by gesture the course of the sun from the meridian to the horizon gave me to understand that for a footman, as I was, it was a half day's travel. For the first time in my life I began to comprehend the value of articulate language. One Indian uttered along with his pantomime, the words, "wake siah, clatawa siteum sun," the Chinook, as I afterwards learned, for "not far, half day's travel."

This circumstance convinced me of the necessity of acquiring a use of the Chinook language, so that I could have the benefit of the knowledge gained by the natives to the soil. It was not, however, a difficult task to become acquainted with enough of it to meet practical demands, and there were numerous occasions when it was especially serviceable. I was



lost once in the Cascade Mountains and so befuddled among its mists and clouds, which completely shut out the sun, that I could not determine which end of the Barlow road to take when I came to it. An Indian happened along soon after, and I, being a "Chinook" as the early Oregonians termed those who had learned to speak the Indian, was soon traveling towards the valley. And to show what acute observers those unschooled children are, I must narrate the colloquy just as it occurred. Looking at me rather fixedly he saw at once, I suppose by the staring expression of my eyes, that I had been suffering from extreme mental anxiety, and ejaculated, "Micah hias quash" (You are very fearful); "Micah wake cumtux kah micah illahee (you know not which way is home.) Of course I could not hide from those reading eyes my true condition and "owned the corn" by saying "nowitka" (yes.) He gave me a smile that I was at a loss to interpret, and to this day I do not know whether it was expressive of sympathy with my suffering condition or of languid contempt for a white man, that with his superior attainments should be so barren of brain as to become a crazy wanderer in the woods where every tree and stone should furnish him a clue to his destination. Looking around he asked, "Cuppit icht micah?" (are you alone), to which I answered "Nowitka" (yes.) Pointing to the way he had come he told me that in about one hour's walk I would find a covered wagon and white family camped, with plenty of venison; inspiring news to me as I had not tasted food in twenty-four hours. Clapping his moccasined heels against his pony's sides he started off, saying in English, "Good-bye, Boston man," and added in Indian, "Cloce nanitch oo-ee-hut" (Look sharp for the road.)

There are only a few hundred words of Chinook, but after one has experienced inability to communicate by speech with human beings, he will prize highly even as poor and rudimentary language as the Chinook, which was the language of the tribe of that name that inhabited the lower Columbia Valley, and at the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition, in the years 1804 and 1805, was the most numerous and pow-

erful of the Coast tribes. From the position near the mouth of the great river, they were in early communication with sea-faring men engaged in fur trade, and thus became the commercial middle men, and their language the common medium for the tribes of the interior, living on the upper Columbia and its tributaries, a vast country extending clear to the Rocky Mountains and equal in area to the original thirteen States. In the absence of special knowledge upon the subject, we may infer that Indian languages do not differ much as to copiousness, and that the Chinook people were fully up with other tribes in that respect. Commercial intercourse did for them what it does for all people, increased their knowledge and added to their stock of words. They came in contact with civilized men, saw and purchased many things which they did not make and for which, consequently, they had no names, and it was but natural that they should adopt the names in use among the vendors. Later, when the Hudson Bay Company occupied the country with its trading posts, their language was still further enriched by the addition of names mainly of French derivation, contributed by the mountain men and trappers who were mostly French Canadians.

When I arrived in the Oregon Territory in the year 1851, the Chinooks had become extinct, but their language was the vocal medium of communication between the whites and Indians in the whole of Oregon, a survival not at all singular when we reflect as to the manner and need of its acquirement by the various tribes, and that its acquisition by the whites made it a common language for them all. The early Oregon immigrants spoke it, and some of them quite fluently. Some of its terms were so expressive and euphonious that they have been adopted as good enough to be considered English, though not included as yet in our dictionaries. Any one acquainted with the work of translating languages would know at once that the place of interpreter at an Indian agency is very important, and one quite difficult to fill, so much depends upon a correct understanding between the two warring races thus

brought together in governmental relations. If the interpreter be ever so faithful in his designs to carry the meaning of one language over into another, he is essaying a very difficult task and one which is seldom successful. Look at the translations of Homer's Iliad into English by learned men skilled and critical in the use of their own language and the Greek, and observe how much they differ. And if such be the result in dealing with two highly complex languages, susceptible of expressing the nicest shades of thought, what would it be in operating with two, one of which is complex and the other merely a skeleton. It does not require a learned man to forecast the outcome, and yet how many persons of a collegiate education, entrusted with the duty of treating with Indians, have thoughtlessly prepared an elaborate speech with which to electrify their primitive auditors.

Governor Saloman of Washington Territory was one of them, and he did not wake up to the absurdity of such an attempt until he tried it and failed. Several of the Puget Sound tribes were brought together in council, and along with them many white residents of the Territory and some from Oregon, all of them speakers of Chinook. The Governor arose and surveyed his audience with all the gravity of a United States Senator. Stretching out his right hand in the direction of the copper-colored part of his hearers he began, "Children of the forest,"—the interpreter immediately followed with his translation into Indian (the Chinook), "Tenas tillicums copa stick." The anti-climax was so stunning to the whites that they broke into uproarious laughter that shook the woods. The Governor was amazed and indignant at such treatment coming so rudely at the very incipience of his inspiration, and it was some time before he could go on with his address, which was commonplace in comparison with the one he had prepared. The Indians were as much nonplussed as the Governor, for they could not see the propriety of addressing them as *small people in the woods*, and for that reason they regarded the laugh as being at their expense. And what was a little queer, but not new, the Governor was not fully

informed as to the cause of the boisterous merriment until an after-hint from his friends and an after-thought by himself. Of course he saw that he essayed an impossibility. His Indian auditors were not poets and the Chinook is not a flux for poetical expression. Primitive people are more given to pantomime than those more advanced, for the reason that it is necessary to supply the defects in their spoken language. The same necessity exists with children. In fact the pantomime is the genetic medium of communication, and gradually recedes as articulate language is developed. The gestures of an enlightened orator are not really pantomime, but an index of feeling, an assistant of emphasis rather than of thought. Colonel Edward Baker was, next to John B. Gough, the most in action while speaking of any one I ever heard, but there was slight intention of pantomime, at least no resort to it in default of abundant language to express all he desired. Naturally and undesignedly with him, graceful action accompanied deep feeling and most eloquent speech. Ex-Senator George H. Williams is a forcible orator and much given to action, which seems to bear, however, no relation to his speech except as a visible representative of force; his arms going up and down with a regular tilt-hammer motion which earned him the uneuphonious but significant soubriquet of "Old Flax Break."

Howlish Wampo, though a marvelous success in the use of his rudimentary language, was, when the occasion required, an adept in pantomime. To express his contempt of a dissembler, he was not contented by flaying him with the figurative epithet, "forked tongued" but must convey the same thought to the eye. Raising his right hand, back up, first and second fingers separated like a "fork" in front of and on a level with his mouth, he thrust the hand forward, diverging to the left, and uttered the words "one good talk," then bringing the hand back to the mouth, he thrust it out towards the right saying, "one bad talk." This combination he repeated several times, his countenance and tones growing in disgust with each repetition. It did not seem that language could do more.

The language of all cultivated races does not stop with primitive words, but from them, by the aid of prefixes, suffixes and inflexions, time and mood and the niceties of thought are expressed with much accuracy. On the other hand, the Indian languages are mainly primitive words and the same word without alteration or addition must do service for noun, verb and adjective. One would infer from such straitened conditions that very little could be accomplished with them. Still this poverty of speech compels the imaginative faculties into active exercise and away from abstract thought. Such a condition is also favorable to the development of idiomatic speech when a combination of words means more than the words themselves taken separately. Cultivated languages have standards for determining their purity, viz., the usage of the best speakers and writers, and the same rule, leaving off the writing, is the standard of purity for the aboriginal tongues. No white man would suppose that an Indian cared anything about the purity of his speech, or that the almost indefinable something we call taste had anything to do with it. That, however, is putting the Indian too low in the scale of esthetic humanity. In every tribe there are purists, who are as much pained by degeneracy and vulgarism in speech as are their educated white brethren; and no one better than the missionaries know of the fact.

At the Umatilla reservation, Howlish Wampo was the standard in all that goes to make an orator—pronunciation, inflection, accent, emphasis, natural elocution, etc., and I learned more from him as to the proper pronunciation of Indian names of persons and places than from all other sources. His own name, pronounced by the whites, Howlish Wampo, with a harsh aspirate and a loud mouth vowel sound, was very different when spoken by him. He gave no aspirate or resounding vowel. It was "Owlish-wan-pun," accent on the first and third syllables. He said the whites were addicted to harsh pronunciation and gave many instances. Another Cayuse, and the richest of the tribe, was called Tim-te-met-sy. By Wanpun's tongue it was Tin-tin-meet-suh.



The whites are much given to the alteration of Indian names, and generally for the worse, as respects euphonious pronunciation. The word Willamette is a degenerate of our making, for the tribes of that valley and east of the Cascades pronounced it Wa-la-met (the "a" sounded as in father) as though reluctant to shorten a word which stood for so much loveliness, so many beauties that appealed to the eye, so many natural opportunities for satisfying their animal appetites. The late Judge Matthew P. Deady, a man of scholarly tastes, persistently refused to conform to the Americanizing of the word, and to the last spelt it so as to convey its aboriginal pronunciation. What a pity that the judge did not set himself the task of preserving the Indian names for all the natural objects, mountains, streams, valleys and other striking features of Oregon scenery. Many have been preserved, but we have waked up too late to rescue all the beautiful and musical words from oblivion.

The early pioneers to the Northwest Coast had an opportunity to learn the pronunciation of Indian names directly from the Indians, but it is doubtful if, with this advantage, we can claim to pronounce them according to aboriginal authority. Our lingual habits are different; our enunciation of the consonant elements has a different quality; as is often remarked, we haven't the offensive clucks and gutturals, which we think characteristic of primitive peoples, and yet we have appropriated thousands of their names and esteem them for their vocal richness and variety. In fact, we call them beautiful. But at best we have anglicized them, and occasionally introduced an element, the "r," which is foreign to the Indian tongue. No better evidence of this is needed than the vocabulary of the Chinook Jargon, compiled and printed here in early times when the Indians and whites were in daily communication by the use of it, and yet it is a poor representation of the Indian's speech. Besides a want of critical appreciation of the true vocal elements, there is here, as elsewhere in the United States, a tendency to drift into easy pronunciation more in conformity with our lingual habits. There are

dozens of departures in the vocabulary aforesaid, but I will mention only one, as it shows a want of discrimination which pervades the whole work. The Chinook word for water is given as "chuck," but the pure word is "tsuck," which is less harsh to any sensitive ear. I do not recall any English word beginning with those consonants though thousands of them end with that combination.

The drifting or differentiating tendency is common to all peoples and all times, and can fully account for the diversity of aboriginal tongues in America, though the various tribes were derived from the same parent stock. This drifting tendency is well attested by one instance in the Willamette Valley, where a stream in Polk County, originally named by French trappers "La Creole," slid into "Rickreall" in less than ten years. I lived one year upon the Missouri border, in a part of the country formerly occupied by the Otoe Indians, and while there learned from an employee of the agency of the abortive attempt there made, to copy the Indian names given to the streams in that region. The Otoe name for water is "ne" and to this is added another name of a descriptive character. Their name for the great river flowing through their country, the Missouri, is Nee-sho-cho, meaning smoky water. The Nod-a-way was called "ne-od-a-wa," signifying log across the water. Nishnabotny is short for "Nee-ish-ne-bot-na," crooked water; and Nebraska is changed from "Ne-blas-ka," or shallow water, descriptive of the Platte. The spelling for these names as given on the old maps of seventy years ago was enough to give a hog the lock jaw.

This differentiating tendency, as viewed from the causes heretofore mentioned, was very much aggravated by changes which brought marked divergences in tribal character. Bees swarm and emigrate for want of room, and when an Indian tribe became too numerous to subsist upon the spontaneous productions near about them, a part drew off to an unoccupied region, thus relieving the congestion at home,—but with this difference as to the bees. The retiring swarm is homogeneous with that remaining, and therefore no differentiation results

from such an exodus. But an excision in an Indian tribe is governed by selective affinities and repulsions of various sorts, amounting sometimes to as profound a division as is contemplated by a separation of the sheep from the goats. This may account, in great part, for the difference in character of contiguous tribes of the same stock, as experienced by travellers ever since the settlement by Europeans began. Indeed, it is not a hard task for one given to the exercise of imagination, to fancy an exodus of two or three families distinguished for kindly dispositions and more than ordinary altruistic traits, tending continuously in that direction, and others of an opposite character progressing in conformity with its predominant traits. If it were not so, then we must suppose that the environment was corrective of the divergence, which is highly improbable.

#### INDIAN CHARACTERISTICS.

The differences observable in the various tribes and races of mankind are not, as many suppose, radical variations, that is, something of a different kind, but merely degrees of the same kind. The negro in his native state, hugging his fetish as a preventive of disease or other misfortune; the idolaters bowing down to blocks of wood or stone, to appease the wrath of their gods, as they read it in the earthquake, tornado, pestilence or famine, seem to strike us at first as indicative of another kind of creature, but upon more mature reflection we see in all such a different though a ruder manifestation of the same human faculties, veneration and fear, as modified by intelligence, or rather by ignorance. Perhaps the educated Christian, wearing his crucifix suspended by a golden necklace, would protest against being linked with the savage, whose desire for immunity from disease or other calamity causes him to wear a charm, and as respects the beautiful work of art worn by the former and the bag of stink worn by the latter, I would think the protest well taken, but the actuating and basic sentiment finding expression in one by enlightened and in the other by barbaric means, is evidently the same quality of human nature.

The Indians of the West Coast were given to amulets or charms and generally kept them secreted. They believed, too, in a multiplicity of spirits distributed among the objects of nature; such as the spirit of the mountain, the stream and smaller things. That is the mountain had a "ta-man-a-was," that was the name given by many. They also believed in a great spirit, but whether that idea was obtained from the missionaries, I cannot tell. When I arrived in Oregon in 1851, the Indians everywhere I met them talked about the Sohli Tyee or God, though they still spoke of the spirit of things. In either case he is not so far removed from civilized man and his religious habits as some suppose, and if logical perception is not sufficient proof of this, the conversion of the savage to Christianity and the adoption by him of the Christian symbols, with entire satisfaction of his inherited traits, ought to be conclusive. Through such manifestations it is not hard to discover that the Indian is a religious being and given to worship. He and his white brother are alike in seeing God in the clouds and hearing him in the wind, the only difference is, the red man's soul was never taught to stray far as the Solar walk or Milky Way. In some respects, however, I have been inclined to think him equally esthetic and more in practical conformity with Christian teaching than his more progressed white brother.

In the eastern part of Marion County, Oregon, there stands an isolated and most strikingly regular and beautiful butte some three hundred feet in height and covering nearly a section of land. It was fringed about its base, at the time of which I write, with fir groves, but its side and well-rounded and spacious top were devoid of timber, except a few old and spreading oaks and perhaps a half dozen gigantic firs whose weighty limbs were drooping with age. A meridian section line passes over the middle of this butte and four sections corner near its top. While running this line and establishing these corners in 1851, I observed many semicircular walls of stone enclosing space enough for a comfortable seat and as high as one's shoulders when in a sitting posture, upon cross

sticks as high as the knee. And what was the purpose of these stone chairs? I was determined to know, and the older white residents said the Indians made them but for what purpose they could not say. I became a witness to the use, and was particularly impressed with the fitness for what I saw. Indians from the north and south traveling that way generally camped upon the banks of the Abiqua Creek, a rapid stream of pure, cold water, just issued from the mountains upon the plain. The butte was near, and this they ascended and, taking seats within the stone sanctuaries, communed in silence with the Great Spirit. Bowing the head upon the hands and resting them upon the knees for a few moments, then sitting erect and gazing to the west over the enchanting valley interspersed with meadow, grove and stream; who can tell but they felt as sacred and elevated religious emotion as those who have succeeded them on the butte? The Catholics have purchased it and erected upon its summit an awe-inspiring cathedral, and there upon Mt. Angel, as they have named it, the prayers of the religious ascend. The Indians' name for this grand mount, dedicated by them to the service of their God, was "Tap-a-lam-a-ho," signifying in our language, Mount of Communion; the plain to the west, "Chek-ta," signifying beautiful or enchanting.

Now, looking at and comparing the two modes of worship, could any unprejudiced person fail to give the preference to the so-called savage, that is, if we are to regard Christ's precepts as worthy of note? The savage did not climb to the top of Tap-a-lam-a-ho to show off his good clothes, to be heard of men, to proselyte, or to increase his worldly gear. What was his purpose? Evidently religious worship. What was the burden of his supplication? As to that, we can only infer that, like other human beings, he prayed for what he wanted. He was not, however, in want of food, for the Abiqua was swarming with trout, the valley was blue with the bloom of his edible root, the sweet camas, from every grove came the low notes of the grouse, and the mountains near at hand were populous with bigger game; he did not want clothing, for the



fur that warmed the bear warmed him. In all that great valley of the Willamette he had not an enemy from whom he sought deliverance, and being no politician and not aspiring to place, I have been at my wit's end in trying to fix upon a rational subject of his prayer, except it be that unrest of spirit which seeks escape from the bonds of clay and longs to rest in sublimer spheres, a characteristic of all the tribes of man. If not so, why should he ascend the mountain top to pray? Why not pray on low ground? I put this latter question to the unostentatious Indian worshippers, and although they were untaught in history, had never heard of Moses' interviews with Jehovah upon Mt. Sinai, or of the earthly rendezvous of the Grecian Gods and Goddesses upon Mt. Olympus, their answer proved that they are at one with the whole human race, viz., "Soh-li Tyee mit-lite wake siah copa sohli illahee," which translated into our language means that God is near to the mountain top, or God is near in the mountains.

The majority of Americans, and very likely of all other nationalities, are in the habit of measuring success in terms of money. When they speak of a successful man or woman, and the question is put to them, "What did they do?" the answer will be, nine times out of ten, they accumulated a fortune. Taking this definition of success, some American Indians are successful under the most adverse circumstances.

Traveling up Sprague River through the Klamath Indian reservation in company with Hon. O. A. Stearns, I observed at one place numerous ricks of hay, probably hundreds of tons, and querying aloud to my companion as to whether such were the accumulations of the Indians, he answered that we were then passing through the ranch of a full-blood Indian named Henry Jackson, who was the owner of many cattle and all the hay in sight. He also gave me something of the history of Henry Jackson, but as that was seven years ago, and I took no notes of his recital, I addressed a letter to the present superintendent of the Klamath agency, and received the following answer:

KLAMATH AGENCY, Oregon, October 29, 1903.

T. W. Davenport,

Morris Plains, N. J.

My Dear Sir: I am sure your recollections of your experience as an agent at Umatilla and whatever else you write on the subject of the red men, will prove very interesting; especially to persons who, like myself, have spent so many years in the effort to prepare the original Americans for civilization and citizenship.

The Indian to whom Mr. Stearns referred was Henry Jackson, no doubt, as he is our wealthiest man. He was formerly a Pitt River slave and a number of Pitt Rivers were held as slaves by the Klamaths, but of course they were made free when the Indians treated with the United States and were adopted into the tribes. When a boy, Henry was called Skeddaddle and did not take his present name until he was enlisted by myself in my company during the Modoc War. After the war, he made 16,000 rails, which I used on my cattle ranches, and for which I paid him \$25 a thousand, in young cattle, only allowing him a little money for his actual needs. This work promised him an independence and he mauled his way to the possession of a band of fine cattle, which he cared for with excellent judgment, and keeps on his fine ranch on the reservation. He now keeps about 1,000 head, selling off two to three hundred annually of as good cattle as are furnished for market in the Klamath Basin. Henry has always been temperate in his habits, though he smokes a little, and if he uses liquor it is done without publicity or apparent effect.

O. C. APPLEGATE, Supt. K. A.

If we wish to study the inherent traits of human beings, we must eliminate, as far as possible, the additions which education and social surroundings have given, and this exclusion is more complete and effective by taking children for subjects. So early and unconsciously do we absorb the customs, animus and ideas of those with whom our early years are passed that infancy is the time to begin. Possibly we should begin as early as a humorous educator fixed for beginning the education of children, viz., with the grandparents. Human beings are never too old to learn and should never lie by in a superannuated list, but continue to press their mental faculties into use to the close of life here; still, that

should not estrange us from the conviction that youth is the era of involuntary absorption, and that what we get then remains a part of us to the end. When I was seven years old, I committed to memory all the coarse print of Kirham's Grammar and Olney's Geography, and they are within call at the age of seventy-seven, while memory often refuses to yield up the burden committed to it in more mature years.

A fine subject for study and experiment was a little Indian boy six or eight years of age that lived in my family during the years 1858 and 1859. He was a relic of the Rogue River Indian War of 1855 and 1856, having been wounded by a buckshot in the leg in "The Cabin Fight" and found in the cabin after the Indians had abandoned it. The Indians, being hotly pursued by the white settlers, took refuge in a log cabin from which they could command any approach and hold their assailants out of rifle range. To remedy this state of things, a mountain howitzer was being forwarded from the nearest fort, and the besieged Indians, guessing the cause of the apparent suspension of hostilities, awaited until dark, when they broke out, every fellow trusting to his heels, and escaped, it is said, without the loss of a man. A man by the name of Bozart claimed the boy as his prize, extracted the bullet, which had not done serious damage, named him Charley, and signified his intention of taking him to Missouri and selling him as a slave. Charley was a beautiful Indian boy with an admirable form and physical development, a good face and naturally shaped head, showing that he was not of the tribes addicted to the hideous custom of flattening their children's skulls while infants. My brother believed him to be a Modoc and was desirous of knowing what could be made of such a perfect specimen of the aborigine by education and rearing in a civilized community, and therefore got his release from Bozart. Being without a family, brother John took the boy to the Willamette and left him with mine for a season. At that time he could speak a little English, and young as he was, showed a very firm determination to hold fast the customs and habits of his tribe. His coal black hair was thick, matted

with fir pitch and dirt, and reached well down upon his shoulders. He was lousy beyond anything known of white children, and although he knew by trial that combing his helmet of hair was entirely out of the category of practicalities, he was so passionately proud of his long hair that he resisted all attempts to shorten it.

When John turned the boy over to me he said to him, "Charlie, you are to stay here with my brother for a while; he will take care of you and send you to school and you must do as he wishes you to do. Mind whatever he says and be a good boy."

Charlie gave his assent and school began. The first thing on the program was to clear the boy of lice, which could be done in no other way than to cut his hair close to his head. To this he said "No" with a firmness of tone that had deterred his other teachers.

"Charlie, you have come to stay in my family, but while the lice are on you, you cannot have clean clothes, sleep in a good bed, go anywhere or be anybody. In fact, you cannot stay in the house. Do you not see that your hair must come off?"

Still that defiant negative which had caused others to respect his so-called rights.

I took the shears and advanced toward him. A forbidding frown took possession of his face, his black eyes were fixed on me with a most obstinate expression, and backing to the wall he held up both arms in an attitude of defense.

"Charlie, you put me in mind of the sheep. Of a hot day, when they would feel better with the wool off, they try to get away, but we have to catch them, hold them down and shear off the wool, and I see that you have no more sense than a sheep." At this I took hold of him without any show of indignation on my part, laid him upon the floor, sat astride of him, holding his arms down with my legs, and began shearing him.

"Hold your head still; you are acting again like sheep that flounce around and get pieces cut out of their hides. Whoa."

His hair was cut close to the skin, and his scalp found covered with a festering mass of dandruff, blood and matter, alive with lice, some of them of enormous size. An application of shaving soap and warm water cleansed it; my wife put a cap on him that she had constructed during the operation, and Charlie was helped from the floor, very different in his mood. His antagonism went with his hair seemingly. Contrary to my expectation, he showed no sign of retaliation or revenge.

“Cheer up, Charlie, we are going to make you over into a white boy. You can eat at the same table with us and be the same as my boy.”

I soon learned by observation that he had a great amount of pride of personal consequence. According to his infant ideas, the brave, the warrior stood at the head of creation, and this was borne out by his head, which was high in the center of the crown, showing to a phrenologist firmness and self-esteem; and lower down the development indicating large combativeness, secretiveness and destructiveness. He had also good intellectual faculties, was not wanting in affection, and while a little slow of temperament, was apt to learn. There was no use, therefore, of appealing to such an organization with the “beauties of holiness” to influence his conduct. If the truth and a proper regard for the welfare of others could not be got into his mind as especially characteristic of the warrior, the brave, his advance in civilization must be hopeless. To make of right doing a chivalrous function, consonant with his rude ideas of personal worth, was my purpose. So, an untruthful person was denounced as a coward; a rude, unkind person, as an inferior sort of being, who did not belong to the true and the brave. A brave boy dared to do right, to shield the weak and helpless, to put them on their feet and help them to an equal chance in life. This was the kind of tuition, and while he stayed in my family it bore fruit. He could be relied upon to tell the truth though damaging to himself. He would care for our two little girls and obey me without hesitation and with seeming pleasure to



himself, but to obey my wife was a sore trial to his pride, which was ever on the point of revolt against what some white masculines call petticoat government. Her requests he executed grudgingly and once he positively refused and stood in battle array. When informed of it, I asked him to give a reason for such treatment of the person who was performing the duties of mother for him.

“Does she not cook your victuals, wash your clothes, give you a soft, warm bed, teach you to read and treat you as her own boy? And is this the return you make for all her goodness? Can’t you see that your refusal to do what she requests is the act of a cowardly cur that should be kicked out of decent society? Now, Charlie, if you are intending to be a man and hold your head up among men, never let that occur again.”

And he didn’t, though he had lived too long among those who thought it humiliating for braves to obey a squaw. His education did not begin soon enough.

We had a flock of sheep and it was Charlie’s duty to bring them to the corral every evening before dark to secure them from wolves, a task which he performed punctually with one exception. Upon coming home one night at ten o’clock, I found him sitting before the fireplace in a moody state of mind, and upon inquiring the cause learned that the sheep were not penned as usual; that Charlie had been on a visit that day to one of the neighbors, did not get home until after dark, and that he had had an unsuccessful search for them.

“Well,” said I, “you do not propose to leave them out over night for the wolves to kill, do you?”

My wife interposed with the remark that Charlie was afraid, and being a little boy she could not ask him to go again.

“Why, he has been big enough all along to drive sheep, and I guess he is big enough now.”

“Well, but he suffers from fear,” my wife said, “and it is cruel to force him out at this time of night.”

“Charlie, what are you afraid of?”

“The dark,” he muttered.

“Nonsense, the dark never hurts anybody.”

"It is the boogaboo," he simpered.

"There are no boogaboos. Did you ever see a boogaboo?"

"No."

"Well, nobody ever saw a boogaboo. There is nothing to hurt you and a cayote would run away from you. You are no coward and not afraid of anything. If you are afraid something will catch you, stand still and say, 'Come on,' and you will stand there until you are gray-headed unharmed. Now, go for the sheep and don't come back without them if it takes all night."

He went and returned with them in an hour.

After he had gone, my wife chided me for cruelty in forcing the little fellow to endure such punishment and put the question to me squarely how I would relish such treatment of my boy.

"That is a very different case. Charlie is not imaginative and sensitive like most white children; he will not be injured."

When Charlie entered the house after his return, his dark eyes shone with a light never seen before; and he had the step and visage of a conqueror.

"Charlie, you will sleep better than you would if you had gone to bed without securing the sheep."

One day a peddler came to our home and unrolled his pack for trade. There were pocket knives, pistols that shone with fine mountings, watches of gold and silver, pins, needles, ribbons, etc. The children had never seen such a dazzling display. Especially was Charlie intent upon viewing the outfit. I said:

"Charlie, look over this man's goods, and pick out one article, only one, and I will buy it for you."

My wife whispered, "There is a gold watch for which he asks a hundred dollars, and we can't afford to buy that for him, and you must not deceive him."

"Never fear, I know what I am saying," and I repeated the offer. "Charlie, look well to the goods, pistols, knives, watches, and pick out one article that you prefer and I will buy it for you."

My wife was on nettles and the peddler exhibited the gold watch conspicuously.

"Hold on there," I said, "let the boy have his choice."

He did, and Charlie delightedly snatched up a bolt of very bright, deep-red ribbon an inch and a half in width, to the utter disgust of the peddler, who said:

"I'll be damned if you don't know an Indian from the ground up."

"Charlie, this is your day. Ogle that ribbon until you are tired out."

With my wife's assistance there were festoons upon his arms and legs, a band with bows around his black head, and from his neck to his heels flowed streamers that fluttered in the breeze.

Fashionable white people put on finery to please others, but Charlie had no thought of pleasing others; it was purely self-satisfaction; enjoyment coming with the exercise of faculty, and I believe an innate love of bright colors. What philosopher will show how such ecstasy can come from the vibrations of red upon the Indian's optic nerve? Are white children so affected and is it a phenomenon peculiar to childhood? If so, mature Indians are never more than children, for the preference for red never fades. There were various patterns and colors in the calicos of the annuity goods, but the squaws preferred the red.

After my brother's marriage, Charlie was taken to live with him in the little town of Phoenix in Rogue River Valley, an unfortunate change for Charlie. There he was in company with white boys who loved his company and who rallied him for obeying my brother's wife. His early repugnance to feminine control was revived to such an extent as to threaten her safety, and Charlie was turned over to Captain Truax of the Oregon Volunteers. He was taken to Fort Walla Walla, and there, falling in with those of depraved habits, became diseased and died miserably while a mere youth. But others with white skins did the same. The American Army, I believe, is not a moral reform institution. One company re-

cruited in Marion County, mainly an agricultural district, was composed almost entirely of young men not addicted to the use of alcoholic liquors or tobacco, and I was informed by the Hon. W. R. Dunbar, one of them, that only one stuck to his temperance habits, the others soon taking to smoking and drinking, and some of them went even lower in the descending scale.

# THE HISTORIC SITES IN EUGENE AND THEIR MONUMENTS.<sup>1</sup>

By JENNIE B. HARRIS.

The eternal fitness of things is a law of the universe. Nothing can be found in nature that does not ultimately conform to this law. The human race, consciously or unconsciously, has always lived in obedience to its demands. Following its dictates, the history of man consists of a collection of important facts which tell of the growth and decay of each people in its turn. These facts we find recorded in various ways. But no historical records impress us more forcibly than monuments of ancient nations. The data graven on stone with the edge of the chisel constitute the permanent record, the record that compels attention and assures remembrance.

The chronicle of the early history of any people or of any community is apt to be neglected by the actors in the drama, especially when those actors were men and women who chose the wilderness, the haunts of the red man as the scene of their labors. And so we find that there are many links missing from the chain of Oregon's pioneer history. Our honored pioneers are fast passing from our midst, and with each one passes some personal experience which is or should be a part of our cherished early history. Surely, then, in the interest of future generations of Oregon youths, "it is altogether fitting and proper" that we, the native sons and daughters of this State, should do our part towards giving permanency to some leading facts in the history of our own city and county as our chapter in the Pioneer History of Oregon.

But how many and what events shall be selected? Following the law of fitness, these must be the most important happenings. The location of the first cabin—truly that is a

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<sup>1</sup> NOTE.—Read on the occasion of the dedication of three monuments erected on historic spots in Eugene, November 4, 1906.



fitting spot to mark, for was it not the very beginning of local history? If we could go back half a century and appear at the door of this cabin, we should have a hearty welcome and genuine hospitality extended to us by Eugene F. Skinner and family, housed in their two-room or "double" log cabin, as it was called by the old settlers. It stood a little way up on the slope of the west end of Skinner's Butte and faced the north.

Early in 1852, Mr. Huddleston had his small stock of goods at the Skinner cabin; later, he built his store at the east end of the butte. This little fact may account for the differences of opinion as to the location of these two cabins.

The first home marked, naturally the next place of interest to designate will be the location of the first college. For, as soon as the pioneers were housed, provision was made for the schooling of the children. The history of education in Eugene is interesting, and any one who cares to know it in its details may find the subject thoroughly discussed in an article by Professor Joseph Schafer appearing in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society of March, 1901. From this discussion, we find that almost from the first there were two rival ideas concerning education,—first, the idea of the private school; second, the idea of the public school. The private school was more in favor with the settlers because many of them had come from States where public education was looked down upon as being cheap or too humble. For this reason, private schools offering collegiate or academic work were encouraged and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church accordingly erected, on a spot on College Hill, Columbia College, which opened on Monday, November 3, 1856, with E. P. Henderson as president. Everything pointed to success for this undertaking, but on the night of November 6, the building was burned to the ground. Nothing daunted, the friends of this educational movement erected a second building on the site of the first one. Almost a year of prosperous work, with constantly increasing attendance, had passed when this second structure was burned. These fires are supposed to have been incendiary. A third building was planned,

but dissensions arose, the charter of the college was abandoned, "and Columbia College was no more."

Now the public school idea began to grow in favor, but there was a constant demand for a high school department, this demand being traceable to the academic work of Columbia College. Just as some of the most ardent advocates of the high school were planning steps to secure such a school for Eugene, the question of the location of the State University appeared on the educational horizon, and all efforts were bent towards securing that institution for Eugene. The story of this struggle is familiar to us all and the reward of these early champions of higher education is found on our campus. Here is an added reason why the site of Columbia College should be marked, for out of it grew, indirectly, the University of Oregon, which should be and is the foremost educational institution in the State.

Wherever settlements have been made within territory belonging to the United States, Uncle Sam's strong arm has extended its protection over his people and courts of justice have been organized. The beginning of judicial history, then, should be the third event to be commemorated. The spot to be marked is the one where the first trial by jury was held. On this point, the old settlers have many and different opinions. For this reason, we beg your kindly indulgence while we review briefly the first three sessions of district court held in Eugene. The following facts are copied from the official court records now on file in the county clerk's office:

The first session of "District Court of the United States in and for the county of Lane in the Second Judicial District of the Territory of Oregon, begun at Eugene City in said county, on the 15th day of March 1852. O. C. Pratt, presiding judge; E. F. Skinner, clerk; R. P. Boise, prosecuting attorney.

"It further appearing to the Court that no District Attorney on behalf of the United States was in attendance upon the Court, it was therefore ordered by the Court that R. P.

Boise, Prosecuting Attorney on behalf of the Territory, be and hereby is appointed to act on behalf of the United States for the present term."

For this term the following Grand Jury was called:

- |                  |              |
|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Hillyard Shaw | 9. M. Scott  |
| 2. H. T. Hilt    | 10. B. Davis |
| 3. Z. Sweet      | 11. I. Davis |
| 4. C. Sweet      | 12. P. Blair |
| 5. John Leasure  | 13. P. Bryan |
| 6. F. McMurry    | 14. J. Peek  |
| 7. Wm. Smith     | 15. L. Howe  |
| 8. P. Comegys    |              |

Hillyard Shaw was appointed foreman.

Of these men, the only one known to be living is Mr. Comegys, a respected citizen of Eugene.

Concerning this term of court, Judge R. P. Boise, of Salem, gave the following interview, October 31, 1906, to Carey F. Martin:

"Yes, I remember that term of court, we had been holding court at different places in Oregon and went, if I remember correctly, from Albany to Eugene City, Oregon. We all put up at the home of the clerk, Mr. Skinner. In the party were Judge O. C. Pratt, U. S. Marshal Sam Culver, M. P. Deady, then an attorney-at-law, and myself. Court was held, as I now remember it, in a log cabin, containing only one room. To whom the log cabin belonged I do not now remember. The cabin was located near the west end of Skinner's Butte, but its exact location with reference to the present town of Eugene, I cannot state. I remember that there was an unobstructed view to the Willamette River, looking north past the butte, and that there was an old sawmill nearby. The circumstance of the log cabin having only one room is recalled to my mind in this way: The Court (Judge Pratt) had authorized me to instruct the Grand Jury and there being no room available other than the one in which the Court was being held, I went with the Grand Jury, a short distance to where some logs or timbers were piled or lying, being timbers of the sawmill, and there instructed the Grand Jury. \* \* \* I

remember that to the west of Skinner's Butte there was a swale or stretch of low ground and that this cabin was located on ground slightly higher than the swale and not far distant from it."

From Mr. Comegys, I find that Judge Boise has described this first court room itself and its surroundings correctly, but that he has erred in its location. According to Mr. Comegys, and several other of our pioneers, this log-cabin court room was situated near the present site of Mr. Midgley's planing mill. This cabin belonged to Hillyard Shaw, foreman of the Grand Jury, and the sawmill near by was also his property. Now, Judge Boise, too, mentions this sawmill and the only such mill here then was Mr. Shaw's mill. Hence the log cabin near it must be the one in which the first term of court was held.

At this initial session of the District Court, D. M. Risdon was admitted to practice law in this State, being the first attorney admitted here.

The end of the first day's session was marked by the report of the Grand Jury that "they had no business before them. It was ordered by the Court that the said Grand Jury be discharged for the term."

The second term of District Court for Lane County convened on October 5, 1853, Judge Matthew P. Deady presiding. Other officers of the Court present were: Joseph W. Drew, deputy U. S. Marshal; L. F. Grover, U. S. District Attorney pro tem; W. Stewart Brock, Prosecuting Attorney for the Territory pro tem; R. F. Walker, sheriff; E. F. Skinner, clerk.

At this session, John Diamond was admitted to citizenship, he being the first foreigner admitted to citizenship in Lane County.

On October 6, 1853, there was called a case entitled: "Jonathan Keeney *vs.* Wm. Masterson *et al.*—Action of Trover." And thereupon came a jury, twelve good and lawful men of the county, to-wit:

- |                    |                      |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Marion Scott    | 7. Matthew Wallis    |
| 2. T. P. Holland   | 8. Josiah M. Lakin   |
| 3. A. W. Patterson | 9. John Fergerson    |
| 4. James Breeding  | 10. Wm. Dodson       |
| 5. Wm. C. Spencer  | 11. Wm. Smith        |
| 6. Wm. McCabe      | 12. Hiram Richardson |

This jury returned a verdict for the defendants. This is the first civil case tried before a jury in Lane County.

According to the best information secured, this term of court was held in a room about twelve by fourteen feet, located on Tenth and Oak streets, on what is now known as the Titus property. As in the case of the first term of court, the jury had to be sent into the open air to deliberate, and they accordingly withdrew to an oak tree near by.

On May 1, 1854, the third term of District Court for Lane County convened, with George H. Williams presiding. This term was held in the same room where the second term convened, and on the second day of the session, May 2, 1854, the first criminal case in Lane County was called.

It is the place where these two terms of court were held that has been marked, it being the place where the first case was tried before a jury.

These three places have been chosen because of their importance; the first question has been answered, and a second, "How shall these historic spots be marked?" demands solution. Shall they be marked with costly shafts? Such monuments seem not in keeping with the events themselves nor the time. For were not the actors simple, sturdy, daring, determined men and women of the frontier period? After much deliberation, the question is settled, and three basaltic monuments, from the hand of Nature, are taken from the butte bearing the family name of our first settler and placed within the city christened with his Christian name. What could be more fitting than these columns, characterized by simplicity, plainness, and strength, typical of the pioneer character?



Not only are these basaltic columns appropriate from a local standpoint, but as monuments of State history they are equally suitable. Basaltic rock forms the strong back-bone of our mountains and confines within precipitous walls our mad, rushing mountain torrents, and our placid, but mighty rivers, even from the McKenzie, down the Willamette and the Columbia to the sea. The law of fitness has indeed been fulfilled, and *our* chapter of Oregon's history has been recorded forever.

The only other historic monument in our State is the one at Champoege, commemorating the saving of Oregon to the United States. The Willamette Valley has many other historic spots which should be marked. Washington has unveiled a monument to Marcus Whitman; why should Oregon not dedicate a shaft to the memory of John McLoughlin? The people of our State need to be awakened to the importance of the historical legacy which it is their privilege to give to the world in lasting form. Several books on Oregon history have been written, and many more may be woven from reminiscences gleaned from the passing pioneers. Such books are invaluable for reference; but how many of us read them in detail? What we need is history so recorded that it must be read. To quote from our pioneer editor:

"The noblest treasure of any State is the memory of its heroic dead. Recorded in books, their deeds soon fail from the common memory and are recollected only by students. But a monument erected in a great city which meets the eye and holds the attention of every passer-by is a perpetual reminder and an unfailing incentive to emulation. Such monuments manifest both civic patriotism and genuine appreciation of great deeds. They beautify the city where they stand and educate its citizens to love their country and value the renown of its heroes. \* \* \* The time will come, undoubtedly, when the parks and squares of our cities will be peopled with the statues of heroes and dignified with their monuments. The cities themselves will become worthy both in architecture and civic spirit of the memories which they enshrine, and our entire public life will rise to a higher plane. On our dead

selves and the memories of our dead heroes we must build the future of the human race."

May the placing of these simple stones within our city arouse interest and enthusiasm among the native sons and daughters throughout our whole State; and from this small beginning, may we, in the near future, read Oregon's Pioneer History graven on "Tables of Stone."

# THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES.<sup>1</sup>

By F. G. YOUNG.

The marking with basaltic columns of spots with which important events in the life of a small community are associated is not so pretentious as building pyramids, or mediaeval cathedrals. It is not so soul-stirring as the putting up of a Bunker Hill monument or a shaft to the father of his country at the Capital City. And yet, the marking of the historic sites in Eugene may mean more to those interested in it and to the city at large than do those larger undertakings that are more impressive and have wider sweep. It's not the size of the undertaking but the spirit with which it is done and the character of the event commemorated that count.

Civilization and monument building go together. Uncivilized peoples don't build memorials. There must be some measure of civilization before monuments appear. But what is more important to note is the fact that civilizations are built up or dragged down by the memorials they erect. Monuments make or unmake civilizations because they body forth their ideals. The downfall of Egypt was no doubt accelerated by the pyramids built to gratify the vanity of despots. Put up by slaves under the lash of task-masters, the effect was blighting. While monuments to characters like Washington, Lincoln and Grant, or to commemorate events like the battle of Bunker Hill have just the opposite effect upon their builders. People that have done anything, or that have anything in them, or any future before them are bound to mark historic sites and build civic monuments.

In their memorials peoples capitalize their past civilization and make it effective for the new and higher. With these memorials they get together and stay their minds on their ideals. Our memorials, if we as a people are sound in thought

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<sup>1</sup> NOTE.—Read on the occasion of the dedication of monuments in Eugene, November 4, 1906.

and heart, have as their nucleus the best of our past selves and are filled out by our best civic aspirations. These are visualized and symbolized in the columns in our streets. They are our embodied ideals and serve as the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night.

To evoke co-operation in our onward march as a community, to get concerted volition for the highest, we must have as did the Children of Israel of old some tangible symbol, or token, of God's spirit in us leading us on.

Now nothing soul-stirring or that affected the destiny of the State or the Nation at large ever happened with the environs of Eugene. The leading events in the history of Eugene were humble and undramatic occurrences. Yet the fact that they appealed to the Native Daughters bespeaks for these a higher order of patriotism than would a similar response if there had been something more dramatic and conspicuous to commemorate.

The conditions are simply these—a community that is going to move onward and upward in its civic life must honor what was best in its past. It must build on that best. To ignore it is to make a failure. To gain in community strength and character it must live a consecutive life. A city that does not utilize what is best in its past builds on the sand. It will forever grovel in the dirt and be wretchedly poor in all that pertains to the higher life and to all that makes life worth living. The community that sticks up its nose at its yesterdays will soon never have any todays nor any tomorrows in prospect that it can respect. Such a community is not unlike the man who on Saturday night has so little regard for his week's earnings that he "blows them in" for that which can do him no good.

The building of Skinner's cabin on the west end of the butte, the organization of the first court for trial procedure on what was later the Titus block, and the founding of Columbia College on what is now College Hill, all represent beginnings of the elements of an order of life on this soil of the upper Willamette far higher than any it had ever known

before. Those events represent the transplanting to this soil of a race, of institutions of justice and of means of enlightenment as good as the best that man through the struggle and effort of countless ages had succeeded in developing. The setting up here of an American home, of a court of common law, and of an institution of higher education where before there had been but the Indian tepee, the but slightly tempered rule of might and the utter lack of educational activity—these are surely worth commemorating.



## THE MORMON SETTLEMENTS IN THE MISSOURI VALLEY.

By CLYDE B. AITCHISON.

In the spring of 1846, what is now Southeastern Nebraska and Southwestern Iowa, was almost devoid of white settlers. Stretching back to the Sacs and Foxes, the eastern slope of the Missouri Valley was occupied only by Pottawattamie Indians, some two or three thousand in number. A dozen years before, the Pottawattamies, "The Makers of Fire," with some Ottawas and Chippewas, had surrendered their Illinois lands to the general government, and been removed to a reservation of five million acres in Southwest Iowa. Except a few small settlements of whites near the Missouri State line, the sub-agency opposite Bellevue, and scattering posts of the American Fur Company, the Missouri Valley, east of the river, was in the sole use and occupation of the Pottawattamies and their Ottawa and Chippewa allies.

By another treaty made with the government, June 5, 1846, the Indians again disposed of their lands, but reserved the right of occupancy two years. That year, and 1847, most of the Pottawattamies withdrew from the Iowa reservation to their new home on the Kaw, a few returning to hunt each year.

Across the Missouri, west of the Pottawattamies, the agency at Bellevue cared for four tribes, the Omahas, Otoes, Poncas and Pawnees, beside attending to the Pottawattamies, Ottawas and Chippewas through the sub-agency on the east side of the river. The Omaha tribe was to the north of the Platte, and the Otoes south of it, with a strip between them still occasionally disputed—the ridiculous warfare of poor remnants of once mightier tribes. The Omahas were particularly miserable. Unprotected from their old foes, the Sioux, yet forbidden to enter into a defensive alliance, they were reduced to a pitiable handful of scarcely more than a hundred families,

the prey of disease, poverty stricken, too cowardly to venture out from the shadow of their tepees to gather their scanty crops, unlucky in the hunt, and too dispirited to be daring or successful thieves.

Further north, between the Niobrara or L'eau qui Court and White Earth rivers, were five or six hundred almost equally abject Poncas. The Pawnees had their villages south of the Platte and west of the Otoes, and the country to the north was yet the scene of frequent conflicts with their hereditary enemies, the Sioux.

All west of the river was Indian country. A white man not specially licensed was a trespasser. The country was unorganized, practically unexplored, and to the world little else but a name. Sarpy had a trading post or so; the Presbyterians had established a mission; and a few troops were stationed at old Fort Kearney, now in the limits of Nebraska City. With these exceptions, the prairie sod of the Indian country was still unbroken by the plow of the white settler.

A religious sect calling themselves Mormons, or Latter Day Saints, was founded in New York, in 1830, some sixteen years before the time mentioned. Its members increased rapidly. Successive vain attempts were made to secure a home, isolated from mankind, in Jackson, Clay and Caldwell counties, Missouri; and when finally driven from Missouri, in 1840, the Mormons gathered on the banks of the Mississippi in Illinois. They were welcomed for their voting power, and easily obtained a charter for the town of Nauvoo, so favorable it practically made them an independent state within a state. But soon the surrounding inhabitants combined to drive them out. Five years of constant riot culminated in the assassination of the founder of their religion, Joseph Smith, the revocation of the charter of Nauvoo, and the complete overthrow of the Saints by superior physical force.

After the election of Brigham Young as president of the Twelve Apostles, the Mormons promised to leave Illinois "as soon as grass grew and water ran," in the spring of 1846, provided meantime, they were permitted to dispose of their

property and make preparations for departure without further molestation. September 9, 1845, the Mormon authorities determined to send an advance party of fifteen hundred to the valley of the Great Salt Lake. In January, 1846, a council of the church ordered this company to start at once, and announced in a circular to the Saints throughout the world the intention to secure a home beyond the Rockies, a safe haven from the annoyances of their enemies.

Through all the winter of 1845-6, the Mormons made every effort to dispose of property they could not easily move and to secure equipment for the march. Houses and farms and all immovable chattels were sacrificed to the best terms available, and the community for a hundred miles around was bartered out of wagons and cattle.

The pioneers hastened their departure from motives of prudence. The first detachment, sixteen hundred men, women and children, including the high officials of the church, crossed the river early in February and pushed forward on the march. The main body of Mormons began crossing the day after, and followed the pioneers in large bodies, at frequent intervals, though some little distance behind the first party. By the middle of May or first of June, probably sixteen thousand persons with two thousand wagons had been ferried across the Mississippi, and were on their way to the West.

The sufferings of the pioneers (though the hardiest of the whole Mormon host), and of the earlier bands following, is almost beyond description. Hastily and inadequately equipped, without sufficient shelter or fuel, weakened by rheumatism and catarrh, short of food for both man and beast, exposed to every blast of an unusually severe winter, they plodded westward and wished for spring. Spring came, and found them not half way to the Missouri. The excessive snows of the winter and the heavy spring rains turned the rich prairie soil into pasty mud, and raised the streams so that in many instances the emigrants had to wait patiently for the waters to go down.

The pioneers laid out a road, and established huge farms in

the lands of the Sacs and Foxes. Two of these settlements, or farms, called Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah, included upwards of two miles of fenced land, well tilled, with comfortable log buildings; intended as permanent camps for those to follow, and to accumulate reserve provisions for the coming winter. In addition more or less permanent camps were established at intervals along the trail from the Mississippi to the Missouri, at Sugar Creek, Richardson Point, on the Chariton, Lost Camp, Locust Creek, and at Indiantown, the "Little Miami" village of the Pottawattamies.

Several thousand did not reach the Missouri in 1846. Many returned to eastern States; others remained at Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah, because of a lack of wagons to transport them further west, and in order to cultivate the huge farms to provision the camps the following winter. The van of the main body of Mormons reached the Missouri, near the present city of Council Bluffs, June 14, 1846, and then moved back into the hills while a ferry boat was being built. The boat was launched the 29th, and the next day the pioneers began pushing across the river. The next few weeks the companies of emigrants as they arrived temporarily camped on the bluffs and bottoms of the Missouri, at Mynster Springs, at Rushville, at Council Point and Traders' Point. The pioneers at the same time advanced into the Indian country, building bridges over the Papillion and Elkhorn, and constructing roads. In July, it was resolved to establish a fort on Grand Island, but the pioneers did not reach that far west that year. Some reached the Pawnee villages, and then finding the season too far advanced to continue westward, turned north and wintered on the banks of the Missouri at the mouth of the Niobrara, among the Poncas.

The Pottawattamies and Omahas received the refugees kindly. A solemn council was held by the Pottawattamies in the yard of one of Sarpy's trading houses, and the assembled chiefs welcomed the wanderers in aboriginal manner. Pied Riche, surnamed Le Clerc, the scholar, told them:

“The Pottawattamie came sad and tired into this inhospitable Missouri bottom, not many years back, when he was taken from his beautiful country beyond the Mississippi, which had abundant game, and timber, and clear water everywhere. Now you are driven from your lodges and lands there, and the graves of your people. We must help one another, and the Great Spirit will help us both. You are now free to cut and use all the wood you may wish. You can make all your improvements, and live on any part of our land not actually occupied by us. Because one suffers and does not deserve, is no reason he shall always suffer; I say. We may live to see all right yet. However, if we do not, our children will. Bon Jour.”

The Pottawattamies had within the month ceded their lands to the United States, reserving two years' right of occupation, and with becoming dignity signed articles of convention with the Mormons.

A large number of emigrants remained among the Pottawattamies during the winter of 1846-7, living in shacks of cottonwood, in caves in the bluffs, in log cabins in the groves and glens—wherever there was shelter, fuel, and water. The greater number of Mormons, however, crossed into the Indian country at the ferry established opposite present site of Florence, or else at Sarpy's Ferry below, making their first large camp at Cutler Park, a few miles northwest of the ferry, where they built a mill. Here the chiefs of the Omaha tribe held a grand council with the Mormon leaders, and Big Elk, the principal chief of the tribe, gave permission to remain two years, invited reciprocal trade, and promised warning of danger from other Indians.

The Mexican War was now in progress. About the time the exodus began, the Mormons applied to Washington for some form of work, to assist them in getting further west. Their tender of military services was accepted, and under orders from General Kearney, Captain James Allen raised a battalion of five companies in the Missouri camps, in two weeks, himself assuming command. After a farewell ball, the recruits marched away, accompanied as far as Fort Leavenworth by eighty women and children. There each man re-



ceived a bounty of \$40.00, most of which was taken back to the families left behind at the Missouri River camps. While the withdrawal of five hundred able-bodied men left few but the sick in the camps, the bounty received was considerable and much needed, and the enlistment of the battalion induced Captain Allen to promise, for the government, to allow the Mormons to pass through the Pottawattamie and Omaha lands, and to remain while necessary. Subsequent letters from Washington showed that the Federal authorities expected the Mormons to leave in the spring of 1847.

Some six hundred fifty Saints had been left in Nauvoo after the emigration ceased in June, consisting of the sick, the poor, and those unable to sell their property. The Gentile Whigs renewed the old quarrel, fearing the vote of the Mormon element would control the August congressional election. The Saints finally agreed to not attempt to vote. But in fact, says Governor Ford, all voted the Democratic ticket, some three and four times, being induced by the considerations of the President allowing their settlement on the Indian reservations on the Missouri, and the enlistment of the Mormon battalion. Nauvoo fell, and the last of the Mormons fled from the city in extreme distress.

By the close of the summer of 1846, some twelve or thirteen thousand Mormons were in camp in the Missouri Valley, at Rushville, Council Point, Traders' Point, Mynster Springs, Indiantown, in the groves along the creeks, and in the glens in the hills; and on the west side of the river, at Cutler Park, on the Elkhorn and Papillion crossings, and as far as the Pawnee villages.

During the summer and autumn of 1846, particularly in August and September, the various camps were siezed with a plague of scrofulous nature, which the Mormons called, the black canker. The Indians had lost one-ninth of their number from this strange disease, the year before, and the mortality among the whites was fully as great in 1846. In one camp 37 per cent were down with the fever at one time. The pestilence was attributed to the rank vegetation and the decaying

organic matter on the bottoms of the Missouri and of its sluggish tributaries; to the foul slime left by the rapid subsidence of a flood; and to the turning of the virgin soil by the settlers. There were often not enough well to attend to the sick or bury the dead. Six hundred deaths occurred on the site of the present town of Florence. The plague raged several successive years, and from 1848 to 1851, on the Iowa side of the river, hundreds of Mormons died of it.

During the autumn months, preparations were made to winter on the site of the present town of Florence, until the spring of 1847. They enclosed several miles of land, and planted all obtainable seed, and erected farm cabins and cattle shelters. They built a town on a plateau overlooking the river, their "Winter Quarters," and thirty-five hundred Saints lived there during the hard winter of 1846-7.

Winter Quarters was a town of some size, consisting, in December, of five hundred thirty-eight log houses and eighty-three sod houses. The numerous and skillful craftsmen of the emigrants had worked all the summer and fall, under the incessant and energetic direction of Brigham Young. The houses they built were comfortable enough, but not calculated to stand the first sudden thaw or drenching rain.

"The buildings were generally of logs," says the manuscript history of Young, "from twelve to eighteen feet long; a few were split, and made from linn and cottonwood timber; many roofs were made by splitting oak timber into boards, called shakes, about three feet long and six inches wide, and kept in place by weights and poles; others were made of willows, straw and earth, about a foot thick; some of puncheon. Many cabins had no floors; there were a few dug-outs on the side hills—the fire place was cut out at the upper end. The ridge pole was supported by two uprights in the center and roofed with straw and earth, with chimneys of prairie sod. The doors were made of shakes with wooden hinges and a string latch; the inside of the log houses was daubed with clay; a few had stoves."

In October, the camp at Cutler Park was moved to Winter

Quarters. Schools were instituted, churches established, and the whole mechanism so rudely shattered at Nauvoo, was once more running as smoothly and powerfully as ever. Eight thousand dollars were spent for machinery and stones for the water flouring mill Young was constructing. Several loads of willow baskets were made by the women. The winter was passed in endeavoring to keep alive, and in preparation for resuming the march in the spring, by those who were strong and had provisions for a year and a half; others made ready to plant and gather the crops of the coming summer. Thousands of cattle were driven across the Missouri and up into Harrison and Monona counties, in Iowa, to winter on the "rush bottoms," where a now extinct species of rush formerly grew in profusion, and remained green all winter, though covered by snow and ice.

Polygamy was practiced to a limited extent. Young, for instance, confesses to meeting, one afternoon, sixty-six of his family, including his adopted children.

In the octagon council house, "resembling a New England potato heap in time of frost," and which called for a load of fuel a day, the scheme of organization and exploration was perfected, and Young published most minute directions as to the manner of march, pursuant to a revelation made January 14, 1847. In response to a call for volunteers, what was called the pioneer company, moved out from Winter Quarters April 14, 1847, to the rendezvous on the Elkhorn and organized the 16th under Brigham Young, with a force of 143 persons, including three women. Seventy-three wagons were taken, loaded with provisions and farm machinery. About this time the camp on the Niobrara returned to the Missouri River settlements.

The pioneers followed the north side of the Platte to Fort Laramie, crossing the Loup April 24th, in a leather boat, "The Revenue Cutter," made for this purpose. They reached the Ancient Bluff ruins May 22d, and Fort Laramie, June 1st, halting while the animals rested and ferry boats were built. Captain Grover was left behind to ferry other companies

arriving from Winter Quarters, but his services were not needed. After the pioneers had crossed to the south bank of the North Platte, they recrossed 124 miles further on, and subsequent immigration kept to the north bank of the river.

The pioneers traveled more than a thousand miles, and laid out roads suitable for artillery, reaching the valley of Great Salt Lake the 23d and 24th of July. Having laid out the city of Great Salt Lake in a month, Young and his party started back to Winter Quarters, arriving at the Missouri October 31st.

After the pioneers left Winter Quarters in April, all others who were able to go organized another company, known as the first immigration, with Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor in command, consisting of 1,553 persons, in about 580 wagons, with cattle, horses, swine and poultry. It reached the Salt Lake Valley in sections, in the autumn of 1847.

This, and the strong expeditions later on, were divided into companies of a hundred, subdivided into companies of fifty and of ten, each under a captain, and all under a member of the high council of the church. Videttes selected the next day's camp, and acted as skirmishers. The wagons traveled in a double column, where possible. Upon halting, they were arranged in the form of two convex parts, with openings at the points of intersection, the tongues of the wagons outward, one front wheel lapping the hind wheel of the wagon in front. The cattle corraled inside, were watched by guards stationed at the opening at the ends, and were safe from stampede or depredations. The tents were pitched outside. When practicable, the Mormons arranged the wagons in a single curve, with the river forming a natural defense on one side. Their wagons were widened to six feet by extensions on the sides. Each was loaded to the canvas top with farm implements, grains, machinery of all sorts, with a coop of chickens lashed on behind. But all the wagons were not of this size or description. They ranged from the heavy prairie schooner drawn by six or eight oxen to the crazy vehicle described by Colonel Kane as loaded with a baby, and drawn by a dry,



dogged little heifer. Each man marched with a loaded, but uncapped musket, and so perfect was their discipline and organization that frequently hostile Indians passed by small bodies of Mormons to attack much stronger bands of other immigrants.

During the year 1847, the Indians on the west side of the river complained that the Mormons were killing too much game and cutting too much timber, and the Saints were thereupon ordered to leave. They obtained permission to occupy the Pottawattamie lands for five years, and accordingly the main body moved to the east side of the Missouri. Bishop Miller had settled in the valley of Indian Creek in the center of the old part of the present city of Council Bluffs, a little earlier. After the complaint had been made by the Indians, the great part of the Mormons settled around the old government block house there. "Miller's Hollow" became Kanesville, in honor of the Gentile friend of the Mormons, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who was a brother of Elisha Kent Kane, the explorer. The headquarters of the church were transferred to a huge log tabernacle on the flats. A postoffice was established in Kanesville that year, but mails were received very irregularly until the great influx of Gentiles in 1852-3. Orson Hyde, the apostle and lawyer, became editor as well, and published "The Frontier Guardian" three years, commencing in February, 1849. The population of Pottawattamie County at that time was about 4,000, mainly of the Mormon faith.

The crops of 1847 were bountiful, and a series of strong immigrant trains were organized at the Elkhorn rendezvous. The three men composing the Quorum of the presidency of the church left for Salt Lake early in the summer, at the head of strong bands; Brigham Young in May, with 397 wagons and 1,229 persons, Heber C. Kimball in July, with 226 wagons and 662 persons, and Willard Richards soon after with 169 wagons and 526 persons, 2,417 immigrants in all, with 892 wagons. Richards' departure left Winter Quarters quite deserted.



These companies took what was called the North Platte route, ferrying the Elkhorn (whose bridge had disappeared), and Loup, and keeping on the north bank of the Platte the whole distance to the Sweet Water. All the later Mormon trains were governed by the same strict discipline as the pioneers and first immigration, and their travels present no features of special interest.

The Salt Lake immigration continued with diminishing volume from 1848 to 1852, until scarcely distinguishable from the general rush to the West. The perpetual emigration fund was established in 1849, and the attention of the church was directed to gathering its communicants from Great Britain to Salt Lake Valley. The immigration was to New Orleans and St. Louis by steamboat, and then by boat to Independence, St. Joseph, Kaneshville, or neighboring Missouri River settlements.

The Independence and St. Joseph trails soon joined in the well-known government and stage road of later years, running to Fort Kearney. Bethlehem, opposite the mouth of the Platte, was a favorable crossing place for those landing at Council Point, near Kaneshville, but preferring the South Platte route. Many started from Nebraska City, or Old Fort Kearney, and after 1856, from Wyoming, in Otoe County. The South Platte route followed the southerly bank of the river until it joined the Fort Kearney road. The trail officially recognized and counseled was along the north bank of the Platte, leaving Kaneshville by way of Crescent, making a rendezvous at Boyer Lake or Ferryville, crossing the river to the abandoned Winter Quarters, then to the Elkhorn rendezvous, with ferries over the Elkhorn and Loup. All the sunflower trails converged into one at Fort Laramie. For some reason the North Platte route was the most healthy, and was the one constantly urged and counselled by the church authorities at Kaneshville. Orson Hyde counted 500 graves along the trail south of the Platte, and but three graves north of the river, from the Missouri to Fort Laramie.

Many Mormons did not start for Salt Lake at once, and

several thousand who were disaffected or too poor to go on, never left the valley of the Missouri. These scattered over all Southwestern Iowa. A year after the last company left Winter Quarters for Utah, the church had thirty-eight branches in Pottawattamie and Mills counties. The census from 1849 to 1853 gives Pottawattamie County a population varying from 5,758 to 7,828, reaching the maximum in 1850 and showing a loss of 2,500 from 1852 to 1854, the years of final Mormon exodus. Every governmental function was controlled by the Mormons up to 1853. They elected Mormon representatives to the General Assembly, and Mormon juries sat in the courts of Mormon judges. The Gentile vote and influence was small.

Kanesville, of course, was the principal settlement. Its population was as unstable as might be expected of a frontier outfitting camp. September, 1850, it contained 1,100; in November, 1851, 2,500 to 3,000; and the census of 1852 showed 5,057. It was at first hardly of the dignity of a village. Its inhabitants all looked forward to an early departure; the buildings they erected were temporary make-shifts, and their home-made furniture was rude and not intended for permanent use. With the rush of the gold-seekers following 1849, the resting place of the well-behaved Saints gradually changed to a roistering mining camp, too lively and wicked for the Mormons—by the way, the original prohibitionists of Iowa. Little attention was paid to life or property in the crush and confusion of outfitting from the first of March to the first of July, while the westward immigration was in its height. After June the population dwindled to scarcely 500, and the village again became sedate and orderly.

There were only two or three other settlements of any size. Council Point, three or four miles south of Kanesville, was a favorite steamboat landing. Traders or Trading Point, or St. Francis was made a postoffice in the summer of 1849, under the name "Nebraska." A year later this postoffice was given the vagrant name, "Council Bluffs," and was credited with a population of 125. California City was opposite the mouth

of the Platte, and a little south of it was Bethlehem Ferry. Carterville was three miles southwest of Kanessville, and was a thriving village of some hundreds. Indiantown, at the crossing of the Nishnabotna, on the Mt. Pisgah road, west of the present Lewis, in Cass County, was the center of quite a large trade. Coonville became Glenwood.

We have the names of some forty or fifty other settlements in Southwestern Iowa. Little remains of these, but their names and memory, and a half-rotted squared log occasionally plowed up. Strictly, they were not villages, or even hamlets; merely the collection within easy distance of a handful of farm houses, in a grove on a creek, with a school or church, and perhaps a mill or trader's stock. They resembled rather the ideal farm communities or settlements of some modern sociologists.

The greater part of the Saints, who acknowledged the leadership of Young, left Iowa in 1852, and with the legislative change of the name of Kanessville to Council Bluffs City, in January, 1853, the history of the early Mormon settlements in the Missouri Valley may be considered closed. Council Bluffs remained an outfitting station for Mormon, as well as other immigration, for years, but there was little to distinguish Salt Lake travelers from any others preparing to cross the Rockies. Such immigration continued in considerable number until the Civil War, as witness the ill-fated hand-cart and wheelbarrow expedition of 1856.

Turning now to a few settlements made in Nebraska in later years, a hundred families from St. Louis, under the direction of H. J. Hudson, formed three communistic colonies at Genoa in 1857, called Alton, Florence, and St. Louis. An attempt had been made by them to settle in Platte County. They constructed dug-outs and cabins in the fall of 1857, and the next spring surveyed the lands on which they had located and partitioned each man his share. They enclosed two thousand acres with fences and ditches, and turned the sod of two square miles of prairie. The Genoa postoffice was established with Mr. Hudson, now of Columbus, as postmaster.

The first years of their occupancy were marked by great privations, gradually changing to comfort and prosperity. After the colony had been maintained seven years, the Pawnees arrived to take possession of their new reservation on the same ground. The settlers held their claim three years, but being in constant danger from the continually conflicting Sioux and Pawnees, abandoned further effort in 1863, and dispersed, some to Salt Lake, and others to Iowa, and some to Platte County.

Quite a settlement or relay station was made at Wood River, in Buffalo County, in 1858, by Joseph E. Johnson. Johnson published a paper, "The Huntsman's Echo," for two years, and grew "The largest and finest flower garden" then west of the Mississippi. The settlement was broken up in 1863, by the removal of Johnson and his companions to Salt Lake Valley.

## DOCUMENTS.

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### Occupation of the Columbia River—II.

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#### REPORT

Of the Select Committee, appointed on the 29th of December last, with instructions to inquire into the expediency of occupying the mouth of the Columbia River.

April 15, 1824.

Read: Ordered that it lie upon the table.

The committee to which was referred the resolution, of the 29th day of December last, instructing them to inquire into the expediency of occupying the mouth of the Oregon, or Columbia River, have had the same under consideration, and ask leave further to

#### REPORT :

That they have considered the subject referred to them, and are persuaded, that, both in a military and commercial point of view, the occupation of that territory is of great importance to the Republic; but, as much has been submitted to the House on these points, by former committees, they have now deemed it necessary, only to present a view of the difficulties which would probably present themselves in accomplishing that object, and the manner in which they can be overcome.

To obtain information, a letter to this end was addressed to an officer of the army, whose integrity in the public service, is well known to the House, and whose military knowledge is entitled to the highest respect; that officer, Brigadier-General Thomas S. Jesup, answered so satisfactorily to the committee, that they have presented the answer, in its entire form, to the House, and adopt it as a part of this report.

Quartermaster General's Office,

Washington, April 6, 1824.

Sir: In reply to your letter, dated the 30th ultimo, requesting me to communicate "any facts, views, or opinions, which may have pre-



sented themselves to me, relative to the probable difficulty of making an establishment at the mouth of Columbia River, and the military advantages of that establishment," I have the honor to remark, that ever since my attention was first directed to the subject, I have considered the possession and military command of the Columbia necessary not only to the protection of the fur trade, but to the security of our Western frontier. That flank of our country, extending from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, is everywhere in contact with numerous, powerful, and warlike Indian nations; who, altogether, might be able to bring into the field, from twenty to thirty thousand warriors. Most of these nations communicate, either with the British to the north and west, or the Spaniards to the south. In the event of war, that force, with a few hundred foreign troops, or under the influence of foreign companies, might be made more formidable to us than any force which Europe combined could oppose to us. On the other hand, if such measures be adopted as to secure a proper influence over them, and, in the event of war, to command their co-operation, they, with the aid of a few small garrisons, would not only afford ample protection for that entire line, but would become the scourge of our enemies.

The dangers to be apprehended, can only be averted by proper military establishments; and whether the post at the mouth of the Columbia be intended to secure our territory, protect our traders, or to cut off all communication between the Indians and foreigners, I should consider a line of posts extending from the Council Bluffs entirely across the continent necessary. Those posts should be situated, as well with a view to command the avenues through which the Indians pass from north to south, as to keep open the communication with the establishment at the mouth of the Columbia.

A post should be established at the Mandan villages, because there the Missouri approaches within a short distance of the British territory, and it would have the effect of holding in check the Hudson Bay and North West Companies, and of controlling the Rickarees, Mandans, Minnatarees, Assiniboins, and other Indians, who either reside or range on the territory east, north, and west of that point.

A post at, or near, the head of navigation on the Missouri, would control the Blackfoot Indians, protect our traders, enable us to remove those of the British companies from our territory, and serve as a depot, at which detachments moving towards the Columbia might either be supplied, or leave such stores as they should find it difficult to carry with them through the mountains. It might also be made a depot of trade, and of the Indian Department.

To keep open the communication through the mountains, there should be at least one small post at some convenient point between

the Missouri and the Columbia, and on the latter river and its tributaries, there should be at least three posts. They would afford present protection to our traders, and, on the expiration of the privilege granted to British subjects to trade on the waters of the Columbia, would enable us to remove them from our territory, and to secure the whole trade to our own citizens. They would also enable us to preserve peace among the Indians, and, in the event of foreign war, to command their neutrality or their assistance, as we might think most advisable. The posts designated, might be established and maintained at an additional annual expense not exceeding forty thousand dollars.

By extending to those posts the system of cultivation, now in operation at the Council Bluffs, the expense of supplying them would, in a few years, be greatly diminished. Mills might be erected at all the posts at a trifling expense, and the whole country abounding in grass, all the domestic animals necessary, either for labor or subsistence, might be supported. This would render the establishment more secure, and consequently more formidable to the Indian nations in their vicinity.

As to the proposed posts on the Columbia, it is believed they might be supplied immediately at a low rate. Wheat may be obtained at New California, at about twenty-five cents per bushel, and beef cattle at three or four dollars each. Salt, in any quantity required, may be had at an island near the Peninsula of California. Should transportation not be readily obtained for those articles, vessels might be constructed by the troops.

To obtain the desired advantages, it is important, not only that we occupy the posts designated, but that we commence our operations without delay. The British companies are wealthy and powerful; their establishments extend from Hudson's Bay, and Lake Superior, to the Pacific; many of them within our territory. It is not to be supposed they would surrender those advantages without a struggle, and though they should not engage in hostilities themselves, they might render all the Indians in that extensive region hostile.

The detachment intended to occupy the mouth of Columbia might leave the Council Bluffs in June, and one hundred and fifty men proceed with boats and stores; and, as the country is open, and abounds with grass, the remaining fifty might proceed by land, with the horses intended for the transportation across the mountains, and might drive three or four hundred beeves to the Mandan villages, or to the falls of Missouri; at one of those places the parties should unite and spend the winter. The latter would be preferable, because, there they might be able to establish a friendly intercourse with the Black Foot Indians, or, at all events, by impressing them with an idea of the power of the nation, restrain their depredations upon the neighboring

tribes, and deter them from acts of outrage upon our traders. They might, also, during the winter, reconnoitre the several passes through the mountains, prepare provisions necessary to support them on the march, and down the Columbia; and, if authorized to do so, remove from our territories all British traders on the waters of the Missouri. They would necessarily remain at, or in the vicinity of, their wintering ground, until June, but might be occupied during the months of April and May in opening a road to the mountains and constructing bridges over the numerous streams on the route. This work performed, they might, in about twenty days, reach the navigable waters of Clark's River, a branch of the Columbia, and, in ten days more, prepare transportation to descend to their destination, where, after every necessary allowance for accidents and delays, they would certainly arrive by the month of August.

The vessels employed to transport the stores by sea, might leave the United States in the month of November, and would arrive at the mouth of the Columbia in April, at least four months before the detachment from the Council Bluffs could reach that point; and, unless the ships should be detained during that time, which could not be expected, the stores would be exposed to damage and depredation, and, perhaps, by the time the troops should arrive, would be entirely destroyed. It would, therefore, seem to me a measure of prudence that at least one company of artillery be transported with the stores. That description of force would be found necessary at the post, and the ships would afford them ample accommodation.

That the route from the Council Bluffs to the mouth of Columbia is practicable, has been proved by the enterprise of more than one of our citizens. It, no doubt, presents difficulties; but, difficulties are not impossibilities. We have only to refer to the pages of our history to learn that many operations, infinitely more arduous, have been accomplished by Americans. The march of Arnold to Quebec, or of General Clark to Vincennes, during the Revolutionary War, exceeded greatly in fatigue, privation, difficulty, and danger, the proposed operation; and I believe I may say, without fear of contradiction, that the detachment might be supplied, during the whole route, with less difficulty than in the war of 1756 was experienced in supplying the forces operating under General Washington, and General Braddock, against the French and Indians on the Ohio.

A post at the mouth of the Columbia is important, not only in relation to the interior trade, and the military defense of the western section of the Union, but also in relation to the naval power of the Nation. Naval power consists, not in ships, but in seamen; and, to be efficient, the force must always be available. The northwest coast of America is an admirable nursery for seamen—many of our best sailors

are formed there: without a naval station, however, on the Pacific, the force employed in the whale fishery, as well as in sealing, and the northwest trade, would, in the event of war, with a great maritime power, be, in some measure, lost to the Nation. But, that establishment made, it would afford a secure retreat to all our ships, and seamen, in that section of the globe; and the force, thus concentrated, might be used with effect against the trade, if not the fleets, or possessions, of the enemy, in place of being driven to the Atlantic, or perhaps captured on their way.

The establishment might be considered as a great bastion, commanding the whole line of coast to the north and south; and it would have the same influence on that line which the bastions of a work have on its curtains, for the principles of defense are the same, whether applied to a small fortress, or to a line of frontier, or even an entire section of the globe. In the one case, the missiles used are bullets and cannon shot; in the other, ships and fleets.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

To the Hon. John Floyd,

TH. S. JESSUP.

House of Representatives.

---

### Letter of Dr. John McLoughlin to Oregon Statesman, June 8, 1852.

A word of comment on the occasion of the production of the following remarkable document seems warranted. Though the author in his opening paragraph refers to the circumstances which impel him to write, he does not allow himself to disclose fully the conditions that called for an expression from him. Neither is it quite possible for the letter as a whole to disclose all that called for it. The occasion for this document grew out of what Dr. McLoughlin had done for Oregon and out of what at the peculiar juncture of affairs it would have been most meet for Oregon in 1852 to have done for Dr. McLoughlin. Though a private citizen and not a candidate for office, yet, and not of his own choosing, he was an issue.

His spirit bears up sublimely under the crushing blows it had been receiving and his magnanimity charms. The document, as Mr. Himes remarks in submitting it, is a most appropriate memorial paper, but as a comprehensive resume of his

relations to the making of Oregon by one who had been a central figure in Oregon history nearly to that date, it deserves a place in Oregon historical literature similar to that of Washington's farewell address in our national classics.

That there was masterly opportuneness in the development of his plea (for such it was) is seen when studied in connection with the measures to which he refers. It should have won redress. Alas! for the honor of Oregon that it did not.

PORTLAND, Oregon, September 3, 1907.

On this, the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Dr. John McLoughlin, the friend of the early pioneers of Oregon, it is fitting that a letter, which he wrote in June, 1852, which was recently discovered in the Oregon Statesman of June 8th of that year, be reproduced. At that time this paper was published in Oregon City, and its editor was Mr. Asahel Bush, the present well known banker of Salem.

GEORGE H. HIMES,  
Assistant Secretary Oregon Hist. Soc'y.

The letter alluded to is as follows:

Mr. Editor: Being frequently asked in the present excited state of the Territory [1852] my views and intended action at the polls as between the Whig and Democratic parties just now organizing, I beg to make a public reply. I do this to the end that no public act of mine touching the interests of the country may be made under cover, for I scorn deceit or duplicity in affairs concerning the welfare of others; and, I cannot, at this late day, depart from a rule alike dictated to my reason in early life, and which more than fifty years of experience has been commended to my riper judgment.

I was born in Canada, and reared to manhood in the immediate vicinity of the United States, and from my earliest recollection I have found happy employment for many a leisure hour in studying the character of its people and the working of its institutions. Nor have I been indifferent to the two adverse systems of political thought and action dividing its inhabitants from the earliest formation of the government. The sympathies of my heart and the dictates of my understanding, more than thirty years ago, led me to look forward to a day when both my relations to others and the circumstances surrounding me would permit me to live under and enjoy the political blessings of a flag which, wherever it floats, whether over the land or the sea, is honored for the principles of justice lying at the foundation of the government it represents, and which shields from injury and dishonor all who claim its protection.



As is well known, my lot was cast, a long time ago, in the service of the Hudson Bay Company. Twenty-eight years since, I found myself on the soil of Oregon, in a responsible capacity, under that company, and called upon, from my peculiar relations to them and my sympathies with the American government, to discharge many delicate duties. As a subject of Great Britain, up to 30th of May, A. D. 1849, the date of declaring my intention to become a citizen of the United States, I claim to have discharged all just obligations to the government of my birth; and, as an officer of the H. B. Co., up to the year 1846, the period of my disconnection with it, I know that I was faithful to its interests as far as I could be without compromising my sense of justice to others or turning a deaf ear to the calls of humanity.

I early foresaw that the march of civilization and progress of peopling the American Territories, was westward and onward, and that but a few years would pass away before the whole valuable country between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, then used only as hunting and trapping grounds, and as the resting place of native tribes, must become the abode of another race—American. This could neither be successfully resisted, nor did I deem it politic or desirable to attempt it. In this spirit I prepared myself to encourage, hasten, and further what I thought would be not only attended with good, but inevitable. The absence of a cold and chilling policy calculated to check and embarrass immigration to Oregon has subjected me in Europe to strictures as untrue as they have been unjust, but this I cannot wonder at or complain of, for it is the province of selfishness and conservatism to frown upon and discourage all liberal ideas and efforts from whatsoever source they may proceed. Such things do not, therefore, annoy me, and, if I can truly feel that in my day and generation I have done something, however slight, to advance the cause of civilization, freedom and true progress, I am abundantly repaid all the injury which the illiberal and unjust, in other lands, may have heretofore cast upon me, or may hereafter find it in their hearts with which to blacken my name and character.

From 1824 to the present hour, I have spared neither time nor means, but liberally used both, to facilitate the settling of Oregon by whites; and, that it has been my good fortune to do much in years gone by to relieve distress and promote the comfort and happiness of immigrants, I may fearlessly assert, and for proof need only to refer to the candid and just Americans who first came to the country. And I may add with equal confidence, that by the policy pursued by me and the earliest cultivators of the soil in Oregon, mostly foreigners, this country was more easily reclaimed from the Indians and settled by whites, and with less loss of life than any new territory of the United States. In this manner nearly a quarter of a century passed

away. Congress at length sent us an organic law, and in its sense of justice permitted those foreigners then within its limits to have a voice or vote in the conduct of public affairs on declaring their intentions to become citizens. At the earliest moment possible after the United States laws were extended over us, I availed myself, in good faith, of this opportunity; but, mark the sequel! The first Legislative Assembly, the very men we aided to elect, passed an act seeking to disfranchise those of us whose accident it was to have been born on foreign soil, although our manhood and strength had been spent and wasted during almost a whole generation in preparing Oregon as a home for civilized man. And, while it is true that, from another and juster source, this injury has been since partially repaired, it still marks the temper with which our early devotion to the country and its pioneer settlers has been treated. Not content with this, Congress was unnaturally induced, through false representations coming from men high in authority, to insert a clause in the land bill which deprives the children of such as happen to be born on foreign soil of all rights to their land claims, while the half-breed offspring of native Americans get title to theirs, and in addition, my own claim and home, and the only one I have on earth, was reserved; and, as if to propitiate the intended outrage upon me individually, and to approve the good and the just, an appeal was made to their sense of the value of education by donating this home of mine, and last resting place, to the endowment and uses of a university! Need I refer to the foul means used to attain this end from the American Congress? One example only is sufficient to show the turpitude of the rest; it was unblushingly stated that I continued to be a British subject and refused to take steps to become naturalized, when it was notorious throughout the entire Territory that I had publicly declared and filed my intention to become a citizen of the United States in the court of Claskamas County on the 30th day of May, 1849, a year and a half before the passage of the land law! This is painful, and I cannot dwell upon it if I would. I turn to legislative acts more pleasing; and, with deference to the opinions of many others, to what I submit is generally conceded to have been more honorable and just. In the estimation of the Legislative Assembly of 1850-51, no purpose, however garnished with a praiseworthy profession, could justify wrong; and, in this tone of political morality, refused to accept of the donation, and sought to confirm, by the passage of an act, to the purchasers what had been bought of me in good faith, although in conflict with the rigorous law of 27th September, 1850, which, by its terms, would persecute and take from me, without consent, in my declining years, my home and private property for the ostensible public use of educating the rising generation. As far as that body went in doing what was right, I feel deeply

gratified; but, with due respect, I would suggest that more than that was demanded at their hands. As the grand inquest for the Territory, and speaking for its people, did not the voice of public justice on behalf of the injured, demand that they should call the attention of Congress to the unequal operation of the donation law in its discrimination against the children of men who would, if they could, have been born under the American flag, but were prevented by an inexorable destiny? And ought they not to have called the attention of Congress to the facts of my situation, and thus have sought to relieve me from a misfortune which I did not dream was pending over my head until when, unseen and unheard, thousands of miles away from Washington, it was precipitated upon me and mine just as I was stepping into the grave and least prepared to meet and avert the consequences of such a stunning calamity? But I did not complain, and was thankful even for the little that the people of Oregon were willing to do for me through their chosen representatives. After this, and while my heart was full of gratitude for the past, the Legislative Assembly of 1851-52, in session at Salem, came, and that body, to my disappointment and mortification, passed an act accepting of the congressional donation of my claim and took steps towards driving me from its possession!

Was this deserved, and did I merit it? And over and above all, was this called for by the honest, just and candid public opinion of Oregon's inhabitants? These are the questions I ask of the people; and as I do so, I commune with my own heart, and review my past career and history in the Territory, until, getting no other satisfactory answer than from my sense of rectitude, I find myself fast passing away to a seat of final judgment which can never fail to punish iniquity and reward well-doing. But I do not, nor will I despair. God is just; and I have ever cherished from my youth up, undoubted and undoubting confidence in the sober reflections and ultimate sense of justice of all His creatures. I trust to yet live and see in my case, as often during my day in that of others, ample justice achieved, and that cheers and consoles me in the midst of present affliction.

At one time, bowed down with care, I had almost come to the conclusion to take no further interest in the public affairs of the Territory, but, as in every act of my life, the best interest of the country, founded on justice, has been the rule of my conduct, I feel, on further thought, to recall that determination. The Territory is deeply agitated with questions involving important governmental principles. The Democratic party is seeking—through the zeal and activity of its most prominent members—to attain an organization so as to act efficiently hereafter in the Territory in the maintenance and support of its principles. In such a struggle I cannot be an idle spectator. My sentiments, in politics, are, and have been for many years, democratic;

and I heartily approve of an organization of the party, and shall cordially support, with my vote, the Democratic ticket for Clackamas County. I shall do this for the double reason of duty to a party whose principles I cherish, and in the firm belief that the judges of the courts have rightfully nothing to do with the law locating the seat of government, and that the ballot box will be the earliest and safest umpire to dispose of that vexed question. In voting for the ticket of the Democratic county convention of Clackamas, I do not do so in all cases from a choice of the persons on it, but because it is a safe and salutary usage of that party to support the regularly appointed nominees.

In conclusion, I will say that the acts of individuals, nominally Democratic, in the attempt to prostrate my character and take away the accumulations of my long life of industry, I in no way hold the Democratic party responsible for, inasmuch as that party has heretofore never been organized in the Territory, and I am not mistaken in the fact that its noble and elevated doctrines lead to no such practices, but, on the contrary, tends to the promotion of equal and exact justice to all.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

## REVIEWS.

*Reminiscences of Eastern Oregon.* By MRS. ELIZABETH LORD.

This is an informal narrative of personal experience and of family and neighborhood history. The reader is taken at once into this circle and is treated as if he were rightfully of it. Indeed, the design of the author seems at first to have been to write a book which should be read only by members of the family circle. The original design has determined the familiar style of the narrative, and doubtless in a measure the selection of many of the incidents. The book does not profess to be anything else than what it is. But it is here that its interest and its value lie. It is interesting, sometimes thrilling, to any one who has a feeling for the romance and the tragedy of the migrations of those early days across the plains and mountains and of the beginnings of society in the Oregon wilderness. Any one who loves the story of adventure will find it here. He will find, too, a record of patient endurance, high fortitude, and sometimes of real heroism, with a remarkable absence of much that mars most stories of adventure.

The book is valuable. It bears the mark of actual experience. We need to have such experiences told and written and put on the shelves of our home and public libraries, lest in the rapid advance of the Oregon Country in the comforts and luxuries of modern life we forget what it cost to rear the foundations of this noble State. Let us have them all, and have them told, as here, as if to the grand children at the fireside.

J. R. WILSON.

*Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound.* Portraits and Biographies of Men Honored in the Naming of Geographic Features of Northwestern America. By EDMOND S. MEANY, Professor of History, University of Washington. (New York, London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. pp. xvii, 344.)

The purpose of this work "is to tell the story of the discoveries" of Puget Sound and its environs "and to explain the meaning of the geographic names in use." It is distinctively a work in historical geography in which the journal of the explorer is reproduced (occupying pages 61-334, with biographical foot-notes and photographs interspersed), and emphasis is placed on the portraits and biographies of men honored in the naming of geographic features. The author's, or probably we had better say, editor's, great achievement is found in the success with which he prosecuted his search for portraits and biographical details. Professor Meany's previous activity in erecting



monuments on which the names of English and Spanish explorers are inscribed and his zeal in collecting library material from influential European dealers evidently stood him in fine stead. They secured for him large and efficient co-operation. The freedom of private archives and copyrights, as well as of "public records offices" and "national portrait galleries" was his.

The personal and local factors in historic achievements need to be celebrated to get the annals of any section into the hearts of a people developing a civilization there. Towards this end Professor Meany has labored with enthusiasm, with keen appreciation of his purpose and with ever-widening results. This book registers a large and consistent advance along the line of his former efforts.

To get an idea of the mine that Professor Meany worked for this book in his function of an illuminator of local history we need to note: How the Spanish navigators, Ferrelo, Perez and Quadra, sailed along this coast looking for a "northwest passage" through the continent and hoping they would find none, while the English explorers, Drake and Cook, sought the same here and would have hailed it with supreme delight. Cook's expedition, however, found in the wealth of fur available the material of a lucrative commerce with the Orient, though it failed in spying out a new highway thither directly across the American continent. Efficient English seamen were soon setting their stakes where the Spaniards, on grounds of priority and contiguity, had claimed sovereignty. The plot of international complication thickens around Nootka Sound, when a Spanish Admiral seizes a British crew and vessel in the act of establishing a post on what is now Vancouver Island. England resents this indignity, puts her fleet on a war-footing, when Spain backs down. Then it is that Vancouver is appointed to command some vessels to proceed to Nootka "to receive back in form a restitution of the territories on which the Spaniards had seized, and also to make an accurate survey of the coast, from the thirtieth degree of north latitude northwestward toward Cook's Inlet." There was a hitch in the proceedings of restitution, making it necessary to send home for further instructions; meanwhile there was ample time for a thorough survey of adjacent regions and the making of most serviceable charts. Leisure there was also for recalling the names of all their distinguished friends and compatriots at home whom it would be their delight to honor through applying these names to impressive natural features of the region they were exploring. Many of the faces and of the incidents that were brought before the "mind's eye" of the officers of the Chatham and Discovery while threading the passages between the many beautiful islands of this region during the spring, summer and autumn of 1792 are put before us in finest dress by this book.



# QUARTERLY

## OF THE

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**THE PRESIDENT,**  
EUGENE, OREGON.



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ADDRESS OF FREDERICK V. HOLMAN

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At the Dedication of the McLoughlin Institute at Oregon City,  
October 6, 1907.

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We have come here today to witness the dedication of an educational institution named in honor and in kind and affectionate remembrance of Dr. John McLoughlin—the Father of Oregon—one of the best and noblest of men.

Fifty years ago, on the third day of September, 1857, this man—the greatest of Oregon's citizens, the greatest of its benefactors, the greatest of its humanitarians—died in this city, near where this building stands, a martyr to his principles and to his humanity. It is given to comparatively few men to be long remembered, after their deaths, in books and in histories. Still rarer is the man long held in grateful memory, and whose good deeds are treasured in the minds and in the hearts of those who personally knew him and of their descendants, and whose fame is kept alive in the traditions of a people as well as in its histories. Such a man is Dr. John McLoughlin.

EARLY LIFE OF DR. M'LOUGHLIN.

It is hardly necessary at this time to give, in more than bare outline, a recital of the life and deeds of this grand and noble man. For lack of time I cannot, in this address, even mention some of his noble acts.

Doctor McLoughlin was born October 19, 1784, in Parish La Riviere du Loup, Canada, about one hundred and twenty miles below Quebec, on the south side of the St. Lawrence River. His parents were of a high class. His father was an Irishman, and his mother was the daughter of a Scotchman, a retired officer of the British regular army. His father died while Dr. McLoughlin was a boy. He was brought up in the family of his maternal grandfather. He was educated in Canada and in Scotland, and, probably, partly in France. He became a physician, although he did not long practice his profession. But it gave him a title which became, and will continue forever, a part of his name. In the early pioneer days of Oregon, and until his death, and afterwards he was respectfully and affectionately called "The Good Doctor," and "The Good Old Doctor" by the Oregon pioneers.

Doctor McLoughlin was born a man of affairs and a leader of men. When a very young man, as a physician, he joined the Northwest Company, the great rival of the Hudson's Bay Company. He did not long continue his position as a physician. There were then stirring times in the wilds of Canada. There was strong competition between these two companies. The Northwest Company was composed of strong, forceful men, and a man like Dr. McLoughlin was needed in its affairs. He could not continue to look after the ailing when such men needed him as a leader in large affairs. The rivalry between these two great fur companies resulted in actual armed conflict between them. To be a leader in the Northwest Company required a man of great ability and courage, and of equally great discretion and judgment. In 1821, when these companies coalesced, Dr. McLoughlin was in charge of Fort William, on the north shore of Lake Superior, the chief depot and factory of the Northwest Company.

#### THE AUTOCRAT OF THE OREGON COUNTRY.

For many years the fur trade of these companies in the Oregon Country had been managed and conducted in a very unsatisfactory manner. In 1824 Dr. McLoughlin was sent to

take charge of the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains, and particularly in the Oregon Country. The Oregon Country was a vast empire in area. It comprised all the country from the present northern boundary of California and Nevada to the southern boundary of Alaska, and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Its inhabitants were an hundred thousand Indians, savages unaccustomed to be controlled; with the tribes often hostile to each other and to the white men. For the support and maintenance of his authority, he had but himself and his under-officers and the employees and servants of his company. He assumed command as a leader and he ruled as a master. For more than twenty-one years, until his resignation became effective in 1846, he continued as the autocrat of the Hudson's Bay Company in the whole Oregon Country. He was respected, obeyed, and loved by all his subordinates and was feared, respected, and obeyed by the Indians. The Indians called him the "Great White Chief." Although he sometimes punished Indians, tribes as well as individuals, as they deserved, there were no Indian wars in the Oregon Country until after he resigned from the Hudson's Bay Company.

Dr. McLoughlin selected Vancouver as a place to build a fort, to be his residence, and to be the chief depot and headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains. He conducted its affairs in a most able manner. He welcomed and made the infrequent travelers his guests. He treated rival traders with the same generous hospitality that he extended to those who came merely to see the country, although he fought, commercially, those traders as competitors. His helping hand was given to the early settlers, who tried to build homes in the Willamette Valley before the great immigrations came. He welcomed as friends the early Methodist, Presbyterian, and Catholic missionaries. He assisted them to establish their missions in Oregon, and gave them personally every aid and protection until they could take care of themselves, although at the time none of these missionaries were of his religious sect or denomination. With-



out his protection and assistance none of these missionaries could have stayed in Oregon. The first Methodist missionaries came to Oregon in 1834; the Presbyterian, in 1836; and the Catholic, in 1838.

In 1828, Jedediah S. Smith, a rival trader, came to Oregon by the way of California. Of his party of eighteen men, fourteen were massacred at the Umpqua River. Smith was one of the four survivors. Dr. McLoughlin protected these survivors and sent a large party of men to the place of the massacre, who recovered the furs and restored them to Smith.

#### THE FIRST SCHOOL IN THE OREGON COUNTRY.

In 1832 Dr. McLoughlin established the first school in the Oregon Country. There was no other school in the Oregon Country until the Methodist missionaries began to teach the Indians, in 1835. When Nathaniel J. Wyeth came to Oregon in 1832, on his first expedition, he brought with him, as one of his party, John Ball, who was born in New Hampshire in 1794. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, and had been admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of New York. He arrived at Fort Vancouver in November, 1832. In his manuscript journal, excerpts from which were published in The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society of March, 1902, Ball says, under date of November 16, 1832:

“Mr. Wyeth and myself were invited by Doctor McLoughlin, the oldest partner and nominal Governor, to his own table and rooms at the fort. \* \* \* We were received with the greatest kindness as guests, which was very acceptable, or else we would have had to hunt for subsistence. But not liking to live *gratis*, I asked the doctor (he was a physician by profession) for some employment. He repeatedly answered me that I was a guest and not expected to work. But after much urging, he said if I was willing he would like me to teach his own son and the other boys in the fort, of whom there were a dozen. Of course I gladly accepted the offer. So the boys were sent to my room to be instructed. \* \* \* I found the boys docile and attentive, and they made good progress. The doctor often came into the school, and was well satisfied and pleased. One day he said: ‘Ball, anyway you will have the



reputation of teaching the *first* school in Oregon.' So I passed the winter of 1832 and 1833."

I cannot give the exact date when Ball began the school. It was probably late in November or early in December, 1832. He continued to teach until the latter part of February, 1833, when he was assisted by Dr. McLoughlin to start a farm in the Willamette Valley.

John Ball was succeeded, as a teacher of this school at Fort Vancouver, by Solomon H. Smith, who also came with Nathaniel J. Wyeth in 1832. Smith began teaching in the spring of 1833 and continued to teach about eighteen months, until the fall of 1834. He, in turn, was succeeded by Cyrus Shepard. Shepard was a lay Methodist missionary, who came with Rev. Jason Lee and Rev. Daniel Lee and party. These were the first Methodist missionaries. They arrived at Fort Vancouver in September, 1834. As Shepard was not a strong man physically, he stayed at Fort Vancouver until early in the spring of 1835, while the other Methodist missionaries were constructing the mission buildings, about ten miles north of Salem, in what is now Marion County. During the fall and winter of 1834 Shepard taught the school at Fort Vancouver. His pupils were about forty-three. Among his pupils were three Japanese, two men and a boy. These were the only survivors, of the crew of seventeen, of a derelict Japanese junk which drifted across the Pacific Ocean and went ashore about fifteen miles south of Cape Flattery, in March, 1833. These Japanese were enslaved by the Indians and cruelly treated.

#### RESCUE OF JAPANESE SAILORS.

Dr. McLoughlin learned of these Japanese by means of a rude drawing on paper, depicting three ship-wrecked persons, with a junk on the rocks, and Indians engaged in plundering the junk. How this drawing was received by Dr. McLoughlin I have been unable to learn, as the early books on Oregon merely say that the drawing was received. The junk was laden with rice, cotton cloth, and Japanese porcelain, orna-

mented with the willow-pattern in blue. Dr. McLoughlin first sent a party of about thirty men, under the leadership of Tom McKay, who went overland to Point Grenville. The country along the coast was very rough and almost impassable. This party became discouraged and returned without rescuing the Japanese. Dr. McLoughlin then instructed the captain of the brig *Lama* to land at the place of the shipwreck and to rescue the Japanese. This the captain accomplished, after great trouble, and brought these three Japanese to Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1834. Under Dr. McLaughlin's directions they were restored to health and treated kindly until he could send them to England. From England they were taken to China.

#### THE EARLY OREGON IMMIGRANTS.

It was the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country to protect the company's fur trade and to prevent the settlement of the Oregon Country, particularly by citizens of the United States. This company desired that the Oregon Country should not become civilized and, especially, should not be Americanized. It wished the country for its own use, to be kept a wilderness for the production of fur-bearing animals, and to have it belong to, or to be under the control of, Great Britain.

But there came a great movement of people of the United States to occupy, to settle, and to have and to hold a large part of the Oregon Country, particularly the Willamette Valley. They did not come as friends of Great Britain or of the Hudson's Bay Company. They were strong in their Americanism. The first of these home-building immigrations came in 1843. There were nearly nine hundred of them—men, women, and children. They arrived at old Fort Walla Walla, on the Columbia River, about the middle of October, 1843. The winter was coming on. Snow had fallen on them in the Blue Mountains. Their provisions were almost exhausted, their clothing nearly worn out. Some went to The Dalles by water. A few of these were drowned in the dangerous rapids of the Columbia River. Many took their wagons with their

families to The Dalles, over the unexplored lands along the Columbia River. That was the end of going by wagons. There was not then a feasible route for wagons over the Cascade Mountains. They must go by water to the Willamette Valley and leave their cattle east of the Cascade Mountains until the next spring. They had no boats. Sickness, starvation, and disaster threatened them, and especially the children. The Indians were preparing to massacre these immigrants. To carry out the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company, Dr. McLoughlin had simply to let them alone—to do nothing—to leave them to their fate. But the diplomatic plans of his country and the policy of his company were brushed aside, for the time being, or forgotten by Dr. McLoughlin. He was a Christian and a gentleman. These American immigrants, the opponents of his country and of his company, Dr. McLoughlin protected from massacre by the Indians. He welcomed and treated these immigrants as friends. He supplied their necessities, he furnished them with food and clothing, he cared for the helpless. He placed the sick in the company's hospital at Fort Vancouver, under the care of a competent physician, until they were restored to health. Many a mother's heart was made glad by his treatment and care of her children. He furnished boats and batteaux to these immigrants to transport them and their belongings through the perilous waters of the Columbia River to the Willamette Valley. He furnished them, on credit, with food and supplies until they could support themselves. He loaned them wheat to sow during the coming season, implements to farm with, and the necessary cattle. He did all these things, not as charity but on account of humanity. The Good Samaritan had his actual existence in Dr. McLoughlin. And so he acted to the immigrants of 1844 and 1845, when he was forced to resign from the Hudson's Bay Company because of his aids to these early immigrants. The latter two immigrations needed his assistance to as great an extent as did the immigrants of 1843. Even after his resignation took effect, in 1846, he was the friend of the Oregon immigrants and helped them as far as he was able to

do. He made his home at Oregon City, and became a citizen of the United States.

THE LATTER DAYS OF DR. M'LOUGHLIN.

I shall not, at this time, go into the details of actions against him, and of how he was unfairly treated by some persons whom he had befriended and helped and protected; I shall merely mention that conspirators against Dr. McLoughlin took for themselves parts of his land claim and, by means of malicious misstatements, caused Congress unjustly to deprive him of all the rest of his land claim, and thus humbled and humiliated and impoverished the grand, the noble, the generous Father of Oregon. I shall merely mention that his kind and humane treatment of these immigrants and others, by lying tongues, was made to appear as inspired by base and unworthy motives and to be to the great prejudice and damage of those he had so greatly assisted.

I shall not dwell on the sorrows and misfortunes of his latter days. I shall, however, say that he, who sacrificed his all, by reason of his humanity, for his suffering and needy fellowmen and in the making of Oregon, died here in Oregon City, a broken-hearted man. It is tragic that so noble a life should have had so sad an end.

But I recall with joy that five years after his death the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon restored to Dr. McLoughlin's descendants most of his land claim, which Congress had so deprived him of. By that act Oregon did tardy justice but she redeemed herself and justified and approved the acts and deeds, and vindicated the name and memory of him we here honor today.

In Dr. McLoughlin's noble answer to the Governor in Chief and Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company to the criticisms concerning his aids to the early Oregon immigrants, he wrote defending what he had done, and said that had he not acted as he did, "the trouble which would have arisen would have probably involved the British and the American nations in war," and that "I was silent in full reliance that some day justice would be done me."

And his reliance was well placed. That "some day" came long ago. Today is a "some day" spoken of by him. Justice has been done, and is now being done to Dr. McLoughlin. It was not done until after his death. He does not know, unless the dead know. To do justice to the dead is a noble act. In some cases it is a duty, in others it is the inspiration to do right because it is right and because the dead has rested under an imputation which the living alone can rectify. But whether it be duty or inspiration, or both, the good pioneers of Oregon, and their descendants, have seen to it that justice is done to his memory.

#### DR. M'LOUGHLIN'S RELIGION.

Dr. McLoughlin was always the friend and supporter of the Christian religion, without regard to sects or denominations, as well as of schools. Out of his land claim in Oregon City, he gave lots to the Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Catholics. He gave eight lots to a Catholic Sisterhood and eight lots to the Clackamas Female Protestant Seminary.

Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet, afterwards the first Archbishop of the diocese of Oregon City, was one of the first two Catholic priests who came to Oregon. In his book, "Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon," Archbishop Blanchet says:

"It is but just to make special mention of the important services which Dr. John McLoughlin—though not a Catholic—has rendered to the French Canadians and their families, during the fourteen years he was governor of Fort Vancouver. He it was who read to them the prayers on Sunday. Besides the English school kept for the children of the bourgeois, he had a separate one maintained at his own expense, in which prayers and the catechism were taught in French to the Catholic women and children on Sundays and week days, by his orders. He also encouraged the chant of the canticles, in which he was assisted by his wife and daughter, who took much pleasure in this exercise. He visited and examined his school once a week. \* \* \* He it was who saved the Catholics of the Fort and their children from the dangers of perversion, and who, finding the log church the Canadians had built,



a few miles below Fairfield, in 1836, not properly located, ordered it to be removed, and rebuilt on a large prairie, its present beautiful site."

Dr. McLoughlin's parents were Catholics, and when he was fifteen days old, he was baptized by a Catholic priest. Afterwards, and up to the year 1841, Dr. McLoughlin was a member of, at least he affiliated with the Anglican Church. In 1842 he became a member of the Catholic Church and continued, a consistent, exemplary, and steadfast member of that church until his death. It was truly said by J. Quinn Thornton, one of Oregon's early pioneers, a Protestant, in speaking of Dr. McLoughlin, that "as a Christian he was a devout Roman Catholic, yet, nevertheless, Catholic in the largest sense of that word."

There has been some question as to when Dr. McLoughlin joined the Catholic Church. Commodore Charles Wilkes, of the United States Navy, was at Fort Vancouver in May, 1841. In his "Narrative" he says that, at that time, Dr. McLoughlin, although treating the Protestant missionaries with great kindness, was then a professed Catholic. This shows that Dr. McLoughlin was then attentive to the usages and tenets of that church. The matter has now been settled, I think, beyond dispute. For this I am indebted to the kindness of Rev. A. Hillebrand, pastor of St. John's Church, at Oregon City. The original "Memoranda" of the establishment of the first Catholic mission in Oregon, kept by Archbishop F. N. Blanchet, are now a part of the archives of St. John's Church. A copy of a part of this Memoranda, given to me by Father Hillebrand, is as follows:

"When they—F. N. Blanchet, V. G. of the Archdiocese of Quebec, and Rev. Modeste Demers, assistant missionary—arrived at Fort Vancouver [in 1838], Dr. John McLoughlin was chief-factor and governor of the Hudson Bay Company, west of the Rocky Mountains, and in charge of said Fort Vancouver. Said Dr. was then a Protestant. About September [1842] he begged to [be] received in the Holy Catholic Church. On the 18th of November, he made his abjuration of the Protestant church and his profession of the Catholic faith

and his first communion at Fort Vancouver at midnight mass of Christmas of the same year 1842 and was confirmed afterward."

In his protection of Smith and his companions, and the recovery and the restoration of the furs; in his welcome to travelers and rival traders; in his kindness to, and protection of the missionaries; in his rescue of the humble Japanese sailors; and in his salvation of the early immigrants Dr. McLoughlin was actuated as a Christian and by the broad spirit of humanity, and without regard to the race or to the rank or to the station in life of those he helped.

It was a high but a well-deserved honor when, in 1846, Pope Gregory XVI made Dr. McLoughlin a Knight of St. Gregory the Great, of civil grade. Yet such was the humility of Dr. McLoughlin, that while he accepted the honor, I do not know of an instance where he used the title or boasted of it.

#### REPUTATION OF DR. M'LOUGHLIN.

Most justly the reputation and fame of Dr. McLoughlin overshadows that of any resident of Oregon during the whole period of his life in Oregon. Many distinguished men, contemporaries of his, since his death, and, in many instances, years after his death, have spoken publicly of him, and in his honor, of his acts, of his character, of his humanity, and of what he did in the making of Oregon in words of the highest praise. Equally effective, but more touching to me, have been the tributes of esteem and affection spoken in private conversation, in plain and simple words, but with great feeling and heart-felt emotion, by old Oregon pioneers, some of whom are still living, in extolling his personal qualities and virtues and in bearing witness to his assistance to them and theirs in the perilous and trying days of the forties.

The life of Dr. John McLoughlin was not in vain. He set and maintained a high standard of conduct which succeeding generations may well emulate. He had no idea that he was a hero or that he was, or would become, a great historic figure. The simplicity of his life and deeds is one of their charms.

His martyrdom was not through pride or from the desire of being a martyr. It was forced on him and he resented the injustice done him. But way far beyond the conspirators and their actions against him he stood sublime and so he and his memory stand today.

#### THE DEDICATION OF THE M'LOUGHLIN INSTITUTE.

Let there be praise and commendation of those who planned the erection of this Institute and of those who contributed to its erection; especial credit is due to Father Hillebrand, who originated the idea and who has, with untiring energy, carried it to completion, and who gave the Institute its name.

It is particularly fitting that this school, and these ceremonies, should be here, in Oregon City. This city was founded and named by Dr. McLoughlin. It was here he lived and suffered. It was here he was aspersed and was despoiled. It was here he died a martyr. It is here his body has lain buried in an honored grave for fifty years in the same block of land on which this Institute stands. It is on a part of his land claim. By the dedication to his name and memory, this Institute becomes a sacred monument on hallowed ground. This monument will assist in preserving his fame. But it cannot make his memory more dear to true Oregonians. That is treasured in their hearts. It is a heritage which will be transmitted, as a precious thing, to the remotest generations.

In the dedication of this Institute today, let us dedicate ourselves to the good and lofty qualities of Dr. McLoughlin. Let us strive to emulate some of his virtues. If we fail, we shall have the benefit of our endeavors even in our failures. Let us cultivate, if we but feebly imitate, his humanity even if it result in nothing better than a more kindly feeling for our fellowmen.

It may not be strictly according to the religious idea that Abou Ben Adhem was right when he told the angel to write his name as one who loves his fellowmen, when the angel said he was writing the names of those who love the Lord, but it strikes a note which sets vibrating a responsive and sympathetic chord in every normal human breast, without regard to

race or religion or sect. In our appreciation of the motives and acts of these humanitarians, we show that the quality of humanity has an abiding place in every truly manly and womanly heart—that it is naturally a part of our being. It is one of the qualities which differentiates us from the beasts and shows that our souls are attuned to the melodies of the divine.

To the pupils and students who attend here, there will always be the inspiration of the life and character of Dr. John McLoughlin. The name of this Institute will call to their minds the high ideals of his virtues, of his kindness, of his generosity, of his hospitality, of his philanthropy, of his humanity, of his mastery of himself, and of others, of his proper obedience to those in authority over him, and also of his obedience to the higher laws of God and of Humanity when his obedience otherwise would have conflicted therewith. There will be before them his example of duty, well and faithfully done under discouraging and distressing circumstances; of doing right because it is right without regard to the consequences.

#### DR. M'LOUGHLIN'S CHARACTER.

Today comes to us, all the stronger, the feeling of what Dr. McLoughlin was and what he did. Today we more fully appreciate what he accomplished in laying the foundation of Oregon; and we feel, that although dead, his spirit still lives, and his example is helping to make a better and a greater Oregon.

In speaking of Dr. McLoughlin it is difficult to refrain from extravagant eulogy. His noble life makes us almost forget that he had any of the weaknesses and imperfections incident to human beings. His virtues stand pre-eminent. Let us not deify him, but give to him and to his memory their proper meed, for he freely exercised the God-like qualities with which he was endowed. He exalted not himself. He did not pose as a model. He was human, but he was a manly man, and his heart was full of loving-kindness. He recognized right as it was given him to see it, and he acted accordingly. He saw his

duty as a man and he was not afraid, nor did he shirk, but, quietly and effectively, he performed it for the duty's sake and not for his own glorification.

As a man Dr. McLoughlin was forceful, masterly, fearless, honest, true, faithful, sympathetic, and impulsive, yet usually having himself under control; as a gentleman he was courteous, knightly, honorable, considerate, and approachable; as an autocrat he was assertive of his authority and maintained peace. While he ruled with an iron hand, he was just, merciful, humane, and kind. As an humanitarian all else was forgotten in his love of his fellowman, and in his desire to help the poor, the needy, the unfortunate, and the distressed—he loved his neighbor as himself; as a Christian, he was devout and sincere, and, with humility, he earnestly endeavored to follow the precepts of Jesus and to conduct his life and actions as exemplified by the Master.

To this Noble Man, to this Great White Chief, to this Good Old Doctor, to this Savior of the Oregon Pioneers, to this great Humanitarian—the Father of Oregon—be honor and praise for all time.



# HISTORY OF ORGANIZATION OF OREGON STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

By GEORGE H. HIMES.

Properly to treat this subject, it has been necessary to go over a great deal of ground in order to secure information relating to the organization of county fairs in Oregon, in order to show how the idea of the formation of a State Agricultural Society came to be entertained.

There is scarcely a doubt that the first act looking to the organization of a county agricultural society in Oregon was performed in Yamhill County, as I find in the Oregon Statesman of October 4, 1853, the following notice:

## *“Meeting of the Farmers of Yamhill County.*

“Pursuant to notice a number of the farmers of Yamhill County met in the court house at Lafayette, on the 17th inst.

“F. B. Martin was called to the chair and W. B. Affleck appointed secretary.

“On motion of J. G. Baker, Ahio S. Watt was requested to state the object of the meeting.

“After numerous interesting remarks relative to the importance of the subject of agriculture, he stated that this meeting, being a primary one, preparatory to the perfect organization of an Agricultural Society, and the formation of an Agricultural and Horticultural Library, etc., he recommended that a committee be appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws towards effecting said organization.

“Motioned, that the chairman appoint said committee, when the following gentlemen were chosen: J. G. Baker, William Dawson, Miles Carey, Dr. Anson G. Henry, and Ahio S. Watt.

“On motion, Ahio S. Watt was appointed chairman of said committee.

“Moved that a committee of three be appointed to select and request some competent person to deliver a lecture before the society, at their next meeting. Chair appointed Dr. Westfield, Jacob Grozier, and W. B. Affleck said committee.

“On motion of Rev. A. R. Elder, it was voted that the secretary be requested to furnish a copy of the proceedings, signed by the officers, and send to each of the editors in the Territory, requesting the publication of the same.

“Motioned, to adjourn until the fourth Saturday in October next.”

In connection with this first meeting of farmers to organize an agricultural society, it is a matter of interest to note the attitude of one of the leading papers of the State at that time towards the movement. For that reason the following is quoted from the Oregon Statesman of October 4, 1853, then edited by Asahel Bush, who was then, and still is, a resident of Salem:

“We are pleased to notice that the initial steps towards the formation of an agricultural association have been taken by the farmers of Yamhill County, and we trust their movement will be seconded by their brethren in other counties.

“There is no part of the world where agricultural and horticultural societies are more necessary, and would be more useful, than in Oregon. The experience and experiments of ‘the States’ are of little or no service here. Our climate, seasons and soil differ from those of all of them, and agriculture and horticulture here must be conducted upon different systems. New experiments must be tried, and new modes adopted. In a great measure everything is to be learned anew. Hence the importance of societies where interchange of opinions and experience may be had.

“We hope some member of the Yamhill association will, from time to time, give our readers the benefit of the information elicited through their organization. We also invite short and intelligently written articles upon agriculture and horticulture.”

It is impossible to state any thing about the business which was transacted at the meeting set for October 4, above alluded to, as it has been impossible to find any record of it; but this much is known, that the organization was fully perfected, and on March 18, 1854, another meeting was held at which arrangements were made to hold a fair the coming fall, and the date was fixed on October 7, 1854, at Lafayette, and the programme was as follows:

“Exhibition commences at court house at 1:30 o’clock P. M. Articles—Bedquilts, butter, cheese, and other household productions. Jury—W. Breyman, G. H. Stewart, and A. R. Burbank.

“Two o’clock P. M.—At Marquam’s corral.—Cattle, sheep, hogs, farm implements, certificates of crops, etc. Jury—Solomon Allen, S. M. Gilmore and F. B. Martin.

“Three o’clock, same place.—Horses and mules. Jury—John A. Monroe, Alvis Kimsey, and Mr. Hinkle.”

The fair occurred on the day appointed, and Ahio S. Watt, who was secretary of the Yamhill County Agricultural Society at the time, reported that prizes were awarded as follows:

“To Mrs. K. Davis, for best bedquilt; W. T. Newby, best flour of Oregon manufacture; Clayton Richardson, best acre of wheat; E. T. Stone, best pair of pigs; Charles H. Burch, best bull; Stephen Hussey, best cow, bull calf, and yoke of oxen; John G. Baker, best stallion; Joseph R. Young, second best stallion and best brood mare; S. M. Gilmore, best one-year colt; Daniel Johns, best two-year-old horse; Solomon Allen, best two-year-old filly and best sucking colt; John Monroe, best span of horses; Barnet Haggart, best single gelding.

“A specimen of corn in the ear was exhibited by F. B. Martin, that would compare favorably with that of the best corn-producing countries, both in length and size of ear, and in the apparent quality of the corn. Joseph Watt exhibited a stool of wheat supposed to be the production of one grain of the bluestem variety, that numbered ninety-six full, large heads.”

Following this, Yamhill County held annual fairs for a number of years.

The next county to fall in line, so far as can at present be determined, was Marion. A preliminary meeting was held on April 6, 1854, with Governor John W. Davis presiding, and Joseph G. Wilson, secretary. Jacob Woodsides, Thomas T. Eyre, David Crawford, Hiram A. Johnson, Samuel Brown, Ralph C. Geer, L. F. Grover, W. J. Herren, and Narcisse Cornoyer, were appointed a committee to prepare a constitution and by-laws. Numerous speeches were made, and an in-

vation extended to Polk County to unite with Marion in holding a fair.

A committee was appointed to prepare an address to farmers on "upon the subject of agriculture and the best means of promoting the farming interests of our territory." This committee was as follows: Wesley Shannon, A. W. Ferguson, E. E. Parrish, E. M. Barnum, and Samuel Simmons. In due time a constitution was reported and adopted at a meeting held May 13, 1854. The dues of the Marion County Society were fixed at \$2.00. At a meeting of this society on July 8, 1854, Nicholas Shrum presided, with Ralph C. Geer, vice-president; J. G. Wilson, secretary, and C. A. Reed, treasurer; John Minto, W. J. Herren, J. Woodsides, J. Cox, Wesley Shannon, Thomas T. Eyre, executive committee. It was agreed that a fair should be held on October 11, 1854. It was held as appointed, and Jacob Woodsides gave an address which was noteworthy because it "was short, practical and sensible."

The exhibitors and awards to each were as follows:

Cox, Joseph .....	1	Martin, John .....	1
Cox, William .....	2	McCorkle, G. F.....	3
Cross, Thomas .....	1	Minto, John .....	1
Downing, John .....	1	Murphy, William .....	1
English, Leven N.....	1	Rickey, James .....	1
English, Mrs. Leven N...	1	Sappingfield, J. ....	1
Eyre, Thomas T. ....	2	Savage, Morgan L.....	1
Fitzpatrick, F. ....	1	Shannon, Wesley .....	2
Geer, Ralph C.....	12	Shannon, Mrs. Wesley ...	1
Geer, Mrs. Ralph C.....	1	Shrum, Nicholas .....	1
Gessner, R. A. ....	7	Stanton, Alfred .....	3
Kenyon, Wiley .....	1	Syphert, William .....	1
Lewis, Reuben .....	1	Woodsides, Jacob .....	1
Magone, Joseph .....	4		

In connection with the organization of the Marion County Agricultural Society it is a matter of interest to note that Mr. John McCracken, who has been a prominent business man of Portland for almost fifty years, but was a resident of Salem in 1854, was present at the preliminary meeting above

referred to when Governor Davis\* presided, and that he attended this meeting more on account of a desire to see the Governor than for any particular interest in agriculture, because he had heard so much about him prior to his arrival in Oregon. Governor Davis came to Oregon from Indiana, arriving at Salem December 2, 1853, and resigned and started on the journey east to Indiana on August 5, 1854. Prior to his coming to Oregon Governor Davis had been much in public life. The courtliness of his manners and the ease with which he presided over a public meeting made a lasting impression upon Mr. McCracken, which was readily recalled at a recent interview.

Polk was the third county to fall in line in the matter of organizing an agricultural society, and the first meeting held for that purpose was on April 3, 1854, at Dallas. James M. Fulkerson was elected president, and John E. Lyle, secretary.

On motion of Rev. John Rigdon the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

*“Resolved, That we deem it expedient, necessary and proper to form ourselves into an agricultural society.*

*“Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare and draft a constitution, and report the same to our next meeting.”*

Reuben P. Boise, Isaac Ball and John E. Lyle were appointed said committee.

After instructing the above committee to secure “some suitable person to deliver an agricultural address at the next meeting,” and fixing the date for holding the first fair on October 12, the meeting adjourned to May 25.

The first meeting in Washington County for organizing an

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\*John Wesley Davis was born in Pennsylvania in 1799, and studied medicine in his native State. He removed to Indiana when about thirty years old, and participated actively in the political affairs of his adopted State. This resulted in his being sent to Congress in the years 1835-1837, 1839-1841, and 1843-1847. During the last two years he was Speaker of the House of Representatives. During President Polk's administration he was Minister to China. He was appointed Governor of Oregon by President Pierce in 1853. He died in the summer of 1859.



agricultural society was held at West Tualatin (now Forest Grove) on May 25, 1854, with B. Q. Tucker, chairman, and H. C. Raymond, secretary. A short address was made by H. H. Hendricks, explaining the object of the meeting, after which it was voted that Mr. Hendricks, Thomas G. Naylor and J. Marsh be appointed a committee to prepare a constitution; whereupon the meeting was adjourned to June 10. At this time Israel Mitchell was called upon to preside and J. M. Keeler elected secretary. The committee on constitution reported and it was adopted. Permanent organization was effected by electing Thomas G. Naylor, president, Wesley Mulkey, vice-president, and J. M. Keeler, secretary-treasurer; councilmen, Alanson Hinman, James Johnson, W. O. Gibson, Thomas J. Dryer, Levi Whitcomb, John S. White, and Israel Mitchell. It was decided that a fair should be held on October 5, 1854. The premiums offered amounted to \$420.00, and ranged from \$15.00 for the best conducted farm of twenty-five acres or more down to \$1.00. First and second prizes were given in each case. The scope of the fair may be judged by noticing the objects for which premiums were offered, viz.: Farms, dairies, butter, cheese, cattle, sheep, swine, bread, flowers, household manufactures, ladies' department, farming implements, plowing match, field crops, orchard and shade trees.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the agitation in relation to organizing county agricultural societies, begun in Yamhill County in the fall of 1853, resulted in the movement extending into four counties, each of which had a successful county fair almost simultaneously the next year.

Nearly two years elapsed before another county joined hands with those already mentioned, and that was the county of Linn. The preliminary meeting was held at the court house in Albany on May 3, 1856, at which time "a large number of citizens met for the purpose of organizing an agricultural society." William Alphin was chosen chairman,

and John H. Hackleman secretary. Hon. Delazon Smith\* was called upon to state the objects of the meeting, after which upon his motion, John H. Lines, Joel Ketchum, Anderson Cox, James Johnson and Thomas K. McCoy were appointed a committee to frame a constitution and by-laws for the government of the society. On motion of Mr. Smith a resolution was adopted declaring that it was the sense of the meeting that it was expedient to form an agricultural society in Linn County. After instructing the secretary to send notices of the meeting to all the papers of the territory for publication, the meeting adjourned to June 21.

At the meeting in June the committee appointed for that purpose reported a constitution, which was adopted after a number of amendments; after which permanent officers were elected as follows: President, Delazon Smith; vice-president, J. D. Haley; secretary, D. H. Bodine; treasurer, John H. Lines. The admission fee was fixed at \$2.00, with an annual due of \$1.00. The executive committee were authorized by the constitution to offer premiums not to exceed ten dollars for any one article "for the best horses, cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry; for the best fields of wheat, corn, rye, oats, barley, and potatoes; for the best meadows; for the best selections of grains, fruits, and vegetables; for the best articles of domestic manufactures, and for the best farming implements made in Linn County; and for any other matter or thing that may be of use or interest to the farmers of Linn County." The meeting then adjourned until July 12, at which time Joel Ketchum, Anderson Cox, Zillie Donnell, H.

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\*Delazon Smith, one of the first U. S. Senators from Oregon, was born in New Berlin, Chenango County, New York, October 15, 1816. He was graduated at the Oberlin College Institute, Ohio, in 1837, studied law, and later became editor of the True Jeffersonian, Rochester, N. Y., and the Western Empire, Dayton, Ohio. He removed to Iowa in 1846, and crossed the plains to Oregon in 1852. In 1854 he was elected a member of the legislature, and re-elected twice afterwards. In 1857 he was chosen a member of the Constitutional Convention, and U. S. Senator in July, 1858, taking his seat on February 14, 1859, for the short term. In 1860 he was presidential elector on the Breckinridge and Lane ticket. He died in Portland November 18, 1860. At that time he was editor of the Albany Democrat.

A. McCartney, William McIlree, and Ashby Pearce, were elected to act, in conjunction with the president and vice-president, as the executive committee, and after fixing the date of the first fair for October 10, adjourned until October 18, when it closed up the business of the year, showing that the first fair of the county had been a most successful one.

The following is a list of the exhibitors, with the number of premiums awarded to each one:

Allphin, William .....	3	Hughs, G. H. ....	5
Brattain, Jonathan .....	1	Ketchum, Joel .....	3
Burkhart, Calvin P. ....	8	Ketchum, Walter .....	1
Burkhart, L. C. ....	1	McIlree, Samuel .....	1
Cline, George .....	1	McIlree, William .....	4
Cox, Anderson .....	2	Pugh, Asbury .....	2
Dillon, Mrs. M. C. ....	1	Pugh, J. W. ....	2
Fry, Olney .....	2	Robinson, Jordan .....	2
Hackleman, Abraham ...	2	Smith, Abraham .....	6
Hackleman, Mrs. Elizabeth	1	Smith, Mrs. Eliza Ann...	1
Hamilton, Joseph .....	1	Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth....	1
Hogue, H. A. ....	1	Smith, William L. ....	1
Hogue, J. P. ....	1		

In connection with this fair it may be mentioned that C. P. Burkhart raised fifty bushels of corn on one acre of ground.

The first meeting in Lane County to consider the advisability of holding a county fair was held at "Eugene City" on April 7, 1859, with F. McMurray chairman, and E. E. Haft, secretary. The permanent officers chosen at that time were: Avery A. Smith, president; C. E. Chrisman, Mitchell Wilkins, Isaac R. Moores, and Albert P. Gaines, vice-presidents; Stukely Ellsworth, recording secretary; E. E. Haft, corresponding secretary; F. McMurray, treasurer. By the constitution the membership was restricted to "such inhabitants of Lane County as shall sign this constitution, pay one dollar, and comply with the by-laws and regulations of the society." At a meeting a few weeks later it was voted to hold the first fair on October 11-12, at Eugene, and provision was made for awarding \$80.75 in premiums, to competitors in twelve different classes, viz.: Stallions; mares and colts, and colts; matched and single horses; cattle; sheep; swine;

butter; cheese; field crops; garden productions; fruit; manufactures; farms, etc.

The competitors were as follows, with number of premiums each received:

Belshaw, George	7	Moore, J. L.	1
Bristow, Mrs. E. L.	1	Masterson, J. A.	1
Bruce, Mrs. W. P.	1	Miller, Hulins	3
Brumley, J. L.	1	McMurray, Mrs.	2
Clancy, C.	1	McMurray, F.	1
Cogswell, John	1	Osborn, W. T.	1
Coleman, H.	1	Saylor, S. H.	1
Coleman, N. G.	2	Scott, Nimrod	1
Cox, S. A.	2	Scott, W. J. J.	1
Coulson, Isaac	1	Shaw, H.	1
Croner & Huff	1	Skinner, E. F.	1
Davis, Joseph	2	Smith, William	1
Davis, N.	1	Southwell, J.	5
Dillard, S. M.	1	Stevens, W. M.	1
Goodpasture, A.	2	Stewart, E.	2
Gay, J. W.	1	Swaggart, N.	2
Hulin, Lester	4	Thompson, S. G.	2
Hanchett, Mrs. W. H.	1	Vaughn, W.	3
Henderson, Miss Iphigenia	1	Walker, H. M.	1
Henderson, Mrs. J. H. D.	1	Watson, J.	2
Jones, W. R.	1	Wilkins, Mitchell	2
Knox, Samuel	1	Winter, John A.	1

In speaking of this fair, the Oregon Farmer of October 22, 1859, says:

“The large and varied exhibition of farm products, mechanical skill, and the number of people on the ground, were enough to convince any one that Lane County possesses much of the enterprise and spirit of improvement which build up a prosperous and happy community. If Lane County does not contain more good stock than any other in the State, then the breeders have not brought them out, for we certainly saw more stock and pure blood at Eugene City than at any other point we have visited. \* \* \* The address delivered by Governor Whiteaker\* was appropriate and well received.

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\*John Whiteaker was born in Dearborn County, Indiana, May 4, 1820, and was reared on a farm. He lived in Illinois subsequently, and was married in the latter State to Miss Nancy J. Hargrave in 1847. In 1849 he went to the California mines, returning to Missouri in 1851. In 1852 he came to Oregon, bringing his family, settling in Lane County the next

We can but admire the good taste of the officers of the society in their selection of one so closely identified with their interests—the Governor being a practical farmer. Judging from this first fair in Lane, her citizens are awakening to their true interests, and will soon give the—at present—more populous counties of the State a tough pull for prominence.”

The first meeting in Jackson County for the purpose of arousing interest in a county fair was held in Jacksonville February 8, 1859, and Dr. McCully, a brother of Asa A. and David McCully, well-known pioneers of the Willamette Valley, was a leading factor in the early organization. The first fair was held at Jacksonville on October 4-5, 1859. Officers elected at this time were as follows: President, W. C. Myer; vice-president, John E. Ross; director, J. P. Walker; secretary, J. H. Reed; recording secretary, Jesse Robinson; treasurer, Reuben F. Maury.

The annual address was delivered by James O'Meara, then editor of the Jacksonville Sentinel.

The names of the exhibitors and the number of premiums awarded them are as follows:

Ammerman, U. ....	1	Rice, E. A. ....	1
Anderson, E. K. ....	4	Rice, L. A. ....	1
Anderson, Mrs. E. K. ....	1	Rockfellow, . . . .	1
Beeson, John ....	1	Rockfellow, Miss Sarah..	1
Brunns, A. ....	1	Robinson, Dr. J. ....	6
Cluggage, James ....	2	Ross, John E. ....	1
Eagle Mill Company....	1	Stearns, D. E. ....	2
Emery, Mrs. E. ....	1	Stearns, Mrs. D. E. ....	2
Gass, Miss Sarah Jane...	2	Thornton, James ....	2
Gass, Miss Minerva ....	2	Tolman, James C. ....	5
Heber, F. ....	2	Walker, J. P. ....	4
Hellman, Mrs. A. D. ....	1	Merriman, Mrs. W. ....	1
Hillman, John ....	1	Myer, B. F. ....	1
Kilgore, J. ....	4	Myer, Mrs. Mary ....	1
Laclare, X. ....	2	Myer, W. C. ....	6
Pyle, Thomas ....	3		

year. In 1856 he was elected probate judge; in 1857, a member of the legislature; in 1858 was elected the first Governor of the State of Oregon; in 1866-1870, to the legislature, and in 1876, to the State Senate. In 1879 he was elected to Congress, and he made the trip to Washington from Eugene in 116 hours. Was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for Oregon by President Cleveland in 1885. He died at Eugene.



The first meeting of the friends of agriculture in Benton County for the purpose of effecting a permanent organization was at Corvallis August 2, 1859. A. G. Hovey was chosen president; James Watson and John Trapp, vice-presidents; Philip Ritz, treasurer; and E. M. Waite, secretary. The constitution and by-laws of the Lane County Society were adopted, with such amendments as were necessary to fit the local conditions. The date of first fair was set for October 13. At this time the meeting was addressed by J. Quinn Thornton and Rev. J. A. Hanna. Officers for the next year were elected as follows: A. G. Hovey, president; J. Quinn Thornton and A. M. Witham, vice-presidents; Philip Ritz, treasurer; E. M. Waite, secretary. A. G. Hovey, J. Quinn Thornton and John Stewart were elected delegates to the Agricultural State Convention.

The names of exhibitors and the number of awards received are as follows:

Allen, David .....	1	Matzger, William .....	1
Baker, John .....	1	McIlree, William .....	1
Biddle, Miss Emma .....	1	Modie, J. ....	1
Clark, O. F. ....	4	Nicholson, D. W. ....	1
Davis, Miss C. ....	1	Porter, William .....	1
Friedley, J. P. ....	4	Quivey, A. M. ....	1
Gage, Jesse .....	1	Ritz, Miss C. T. ....	1
Garrett, Thomas .....	1	Thornton, Mrs. E. A. ....	1
Graves, Wesley .....	1	Thornton, J. Quinn .....	1
Hanna, J. A. ....	1	Thornton, Mrs. N. M. ....	2
Hanna, Mrs. E. R. ....	2	Watson, J. ....	5
Hartless, E. ....	6	Witham, A. M. ....	3
Hovey, A. G. ....	2	Wrenn, George P. ....	1
King, Solomon .....	1	Wyatt, William .....	2
Martin, J. ....	1		

The first meeting in Multnomah County for the purpose of considering the advisability of organizing an agricultural society was on November 19, 1859, with Dr. Perry Prettyman in the chair, and A. G. Walling, secretary. The editor of the Oregonian, Thomas J. Dryer, was asked to address the meeting. A permanent organization was formed on December 3 by electing Thomas Frazar, president; James B. Stephens and

Dr. Perry Prettyman, vice-presidents; A. G. Walling, secretary; David Powell, treasurer. At a meeting on January 7, 1860, the annual membership fee was fixed at \$3.00, and A. C. Gibbs, A. C. R. Shaw and A. G. Walling were elected delegates to the convention to be held in Salem February 22, 1860, for the purpose of organizing a State Agricultural Society. At a meeting held July 7, 1860, the first address before the society was given by Judge George H. Williams; and considered from the viewpoint of the present day it was in large measure prophetic. At this meeting the annual dues were reduced from \$3.00 to \$1.00; and owing to the "indifference of the people of Portland" the constitution was amended so as to give the executive committee the power to appoint the place for holding the fair wherever the "greatest inducements" were offered. And in the words of a Portland paper of the time, "The narrow-minded course and uniform indifference manifested by the citizens of Portland, with but one or two exceptions, toward the producers of the country, was the cause of this change." It was finally arranged, however, that the fair should be held on October 2-3, 1860—the "first day, and second day until noon, in the city of Portland, and on the afternoon of the second day at the Union course, two and one-half miles east of Portland." The fair was held on the date named and was said to be a "very respectable exhibition."

The exhibitors were as follows, with the number of awards each person received:

Ankeny, Alexander P. . . .	1	Hurgren & Shindler . . . .	1
Albright, Edward . . . . .	2	Kelly, Clinton . . . . .	1
Buchtel & Cardwell . . . .	1	Mead, W. B. & Co. . . . .	1
Bybee, Miss . . . . .	1	Miller, Adolph . . . . .	2
Chittenden, Miss . . . . .	1	Morgan, David . . . . .	1
Combs & Nelson . . . . .	1	Jacobs, H. S. . . . .	3
Dufur, A. J. . . . .	2	Kingsley & Rees . . . . .	1
Francis, Mrs. Simeon . . . .	2	Ladd, William S. . . . .	1
Frazar, Thomas . . . . .	2	Pittock, R. & Co. . . . .	1
Frazar, Mrs. Thomas . . . .	1	Pomeroy, F. C. . . . .	1
Hall, William . . . . .	1	Powell, David . . . . .	1
Holman, J. D. . . . .	1	Powell, John . . . . .	3
Holtgrieve, Henry . . . . .	3	Prettyman, D. D. . . . .	1

Prettyman, Dr. Perry ...	1	Shattuck, Mrs. E. D.....	1
Pullen, Andrew .....	1	Sherlock & Bacon .....	3
Pullen, George P.....	1	Sherlock, S. & Co.....	1
Randall, E. G. ....	1	Starr, A. M. & L. M....	1
Robbins, George Collier..	1	Stephens, Miss .....	1
Schenek, Charles .....	1	Thomas, Benjamin .....	3
Seymour & Joynt .....	1	Zimmerman, George ....	1

Perhaps it will not be amiss to briefly refer to these exhibitors, as most of them have been strongly identified with building up Portland and Multnomah County.

Sherlock & Bacon were liverymen of the early days. Adolph Miller was the first drayman in Portland, and his widow and a number of children now live in this city. George P. Pullen and Andrew Pullen were Columbia Slough farmers—as well as David Powell, John Powell, Henry Holtgrieve, Thomas Cully, George Zimmerman and A. J. Dufur—all being among the most resolute and energetic pioneers, who settled in that region when it was almost an impenetrable forest. One who passes through that section of country now can scarcely comprehend the amount of energy and determination it required on the part of the first settlers there to make it habitable. J. D. Holman was school clerk of District No. 1, Portland, for many years, and his son, Frederick V. Holman, is one of the best and most favorably known lawyers of the present day in this city. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Frazar were the grandparents of Mr. Walter F. Burrell, a well-known business man of Portland. Mr. Frazar was United States Assessor of Internal Revenue during Mr. Lincoln's first term as President. The Standard Mills, alluded to, was the mill at Milwaukie—admittedly the best flour mill in Oregon in its day. Clinton Kelly—better known as "Father Kelly"—was a pioneer of 1848, and an important personage in the formative period of the country, as he stood strongly for all that goes to make up character in its highest sense. Almost the whole of his donation claim lies within the present city limits of Portland. A. P. Ankeny was a captain of volunteers during the Yakima Indian war of 1855-56, and a man of great energy and enterprise. His adopted son, Hon. Levi

Ankeny, is one of the United States Senators of the present day representing the State of Washington. Dr. Perry Prettyman came to Oregon in 1847, and his donation claim, lying on the western slope of Mount Tabor, forms a highly important part of the region immediately contiguous to this city. He it was who introduced dandelions into Oregon for medical purposes. There was not a dandelion in Oregon prior to 1848. His sons were all accomplished agriculturists. One of them—Henry W.—lives in Portland at the present time. The name of William S. Ladd is a “household word” throughout all Oregon, even the entire Pacific Coast. “Public spirit,” to an unusual degree, characterized his life work, and for many years his name headed every subscription list circulated in this city, which had for its object the promotion of some worthy cause. And his descendants are honoring their father by pursuing the same general policy, and in addition assisting to develop different lines of industrial life, hitherto impossible until within relatively a few years, all of which is aiding in building up the commercial interests of the State in a large degree. George Collier Robbins was an early watchmaker and jeweler in Portland, and was a distinctively public-spirited man. He left Portland in 1862, and for many years lived in San Diego, California, where he died a few weeks ago. H. S. Jacobs was a wagonmaker of Portland. One of his employees, J. M. Howe, invented a device which was of great value in wagon building. Mr. Jacobs sold that in Washington to the government at the breaking out of the Civil War, reaping large profits therefor. Robert Pittock, a brother of Henry L. Pittock, of the Oregonian, was a well-known business man here for many years. He died in Southern California recently. Kingsley & Rees carried on the harness business several years in Portland. Hurgren & Shindler came to Portland in 1857, and were the first to begin the manufacture of furniture on a large scale. Seymour & Joynt and A. M. & L. M. Starr were stove and tinware merchants, and stood high among the business men of fifty years ago. Mrs. Francis was the wife of Simeon

Francis, editor of the *Oregonian* in 1860, and afterwards Paymaster in the U. S. Army with the rank of Major, by appointment of President Lincoln, a lifelong friend. Mrs. E. D. Shattuck was the wife of the late Judge Shattuck, whose service on the circuit bench of Multnomah County for nearly a quarter of a century was conspicuous for ability and uprightness. Buchtel & Cardwell were among the earliest photographers of Portland. E. G. Randall was, it is believed, the first music dealer in this city. He was Postmaster in 1866. Albert G. Walling, secretary of the Multnomah County Agricultural Society, carried on the job printing business in Portland many years, and in July, 1858, began the publication of the *Oregon Farmer*, the first agricultural paper on the Pacific Coast north of California, and published it until February 1, 1863, when he was forced to suspend it for want of support.

The first meeting in Clackamas County for considering the matter of organizing an agricultural society was held at Oregon City, November 5, 1859, with A. L. Lovejoy chairman, and J. S. Rinearson secretary. Messrs. Amory Holbrook, William Barlow, Samuel Miller, William Abernethy and James Officer were chosen a committee to prepare a constitution; and this committee, together with the chairman and secretary of this meeting, were authorized to represent the county in the State Agricultural Convention, should it be called before permanent organization was effected. After a number of adjournments the citizens of Clackamas County interested finally met on April 28, 1860, and perfected an organization by adopting a constitution and rules, and electing officers as follows: A. L. Lovejoy, president; James R. Robb, vice-president; Hiram Straight, second vice-president; William Abernethy, secretary; Dr. Alden H. Steele, treasurer; executive committee—Samuel Miller, Henry Miller, William Barlow, Philip Foster, and Maxwell Ramsby. A resolution was adopted placing all the responsibility for the management upon the executive committee. The first fair was held at Oregon City on September 27-28, 1860, and



the following list indicates who the exhibitors were and the number of awards they received:

Abernethy, William	....	3	Jennings, Berryman	....	1
Barlow, J. L.	.....	3	Latourette, L. D. C.	....	2
Barlow, William	.....	5	Lewis, John	.....	1
Barlow, Mrs. William	...	1	Magone, Joseph	.....	2
Bunnell, C. B.	.....	1	Moss, Sidney W.	.....	4
Burns, Miss Laura	....	1	Machen, John	.....	1
Chase, H.	.....	1	Miller, Samuel	.....	1
Chapman, A. J.	.....	1	Perrin, M. K.	.....	1
Hayes, H. E.	.....	1	Rinearson, Peter M.	....	1
Howland, Mrs.	.....	1	Wait, Mrs. Aaron E.	....	1
Hunsaker, Miss Araminta	1		Weiss, Peter	.....	2
Hunsaker, Miss Mary Ann	1		Winston, James	.....	1
Hunsaker, J. T.	.....	2			

The Umpqua Valley Agricultural Society was organized late in the summer of 1860, and held its first fair at Oakland, Douglas County, November 2, of that year. In speaking of this event the Oregon Farmer says:

“Notwithstanding \* \* \* the short time in which the committee of arrangements had to make the necessary preparations, there was a large number of the farmers, with their wives and daughters, in attendance; and a very commendable degree of interest manifested by all concerned, and all departments of agriculture, as well as many other branches of trade, were handsomely represented in the numerous articles brought forward for exhibition, many of which would compare favorably with those of any other county or State in the Union.”

Robert M. Hutchinson was president, and J. R. Ellison secretary pro tem. A discourse on the subject of “Agriculture,” was given by Charles Barrett.

Certificates were issued to the following persons for the excellence of their exhibits:

Crusan, George W.	.....	1	Handsaker, Samuel	.....	2
Dierdorff, William	.....	2	Hutchinson, Robert M.	..	1
Ellison, Mrs.	.....	1	Long, John	.....	2
Goltra, Mrs. E. J.	.....	1	McGee, A. E.	.....	1
Hall, Dr. Langley	.....	2	Myers, John H.	.....	1
Hall, George	.....	5	Reed, Resin	.....	1
Hall, John	.....	2	Scott, Levi	.....	1

Shirley, R. P. ....	1	Stevens, Thomas .....	2
Smith, B. P. ....	5	Stevens, Mrs. Thomas ....	3
Smith & Beckly .....	1	Sutherland, Fendel .....	2

As already hinted, the foregoing summary of the organization of county fairs has been given in order to lay the foundation to a considerable extent for the organization of a State Fair, as it was believed by many that if such an institution could be perfected it would result in great good to the producing interests of the country.

The organization of a State Fair in California probably had something to do in creating a desire on the part of Oregon farmers for a kindred body here, as it had been the practice for several years for a number of our farmers and stockmen to visit that State and compete for prizes, and frequently win them. At the fair at Sacramento, which closed on September 23, 1859, William Meek, of Clackamas County, then doing business at Milwaukie, was awarded the first premium for the greatest number of varieties and best specimen of fruit. Seth Lewelling, of Milwaukie, received the second premium. J. W. Walling was awarded the first and second premiums for the best forty varieties of fruit. William H. Rector was awarded first premium for iron ore, and the Willamette Woolen Mills, Salem, was given a premium for cloth. The exact date of the first California State Fair cannot at present be given, but it is believed to have been in 1855; but some years prior to that date the California Agricultural Society was organized, and in the year 1853 it held a fair in San Francisco, and among other awards a silver medal was given to Morton M. McCarver, of Oregon City, for the best display of fruit.

As a result of the advent of the Oregon Farmer, the first agricultural paper in Oregon, the first issue of which appeared in August, 1858, the question of a State Fair began to be agitated with vigor. In that number of the Farmer the following appears:

“To California belongs the honor of instituting the first agricultural fair on the Pacific Coast. This reminds us of

the fact that no move has yet been made in Oregon towards organizing a State Agricultural Society.

"California is wide awake to the advantages of developing to the fullest extent her agricultural resources, and when developed, of letting the world know what they are; and there is no better way of accomplishing both than by the organizing of State and county societies, and the holding State and county fairs."

In No. 2 of the *Farmer*, September, 1858, Amos Harvey, of Polk County, suggested "to the fruit-growers and nurserymen the propriety of holding a horticultural convention this fall at Salem, or some other central place." This idea the editor indorses strongly, and calls for a meeting to be held in Salem on October 20, 1858; and asks fruit-growers who are willing to sign a call for such a convention to send him their names. Accordingly in the October number of the *Farmer* is found a call for a "Pomological Convention," at Salem, October 20, 1858, signed by the following persons:

Clackamas County—William Meek, Seth Lewelling, Henry W. Eddy, D. D. Tompkins, William Barlow.

Marion County—J. W. Ladd, Daniel Brock.

Multnomah County—Ellis Walker.

Polk County—Amos Harvey, J. D. Walling, William Ruble.

Washington County—D. J. Schnebley, James Johnson.

Yamhill County—E. B. Stone.

Editor Walling declares himself to be greatly encouraged by the response thus made, and states that he has arranged for the attendance of a short-hand reporter at the convention.

The convention was held as appointed, "The Fruit Growers' Association of Oregon" organized, with Amos Harvey, of Polk County, president, and Chester N. Terry, of Salem, secretary. Altogether the meeting was a very successful one, as there were thirty-one exhibitors present, representing seven Willamette Valley counties. Among the exhibits there was a pound pear that weighed two pounds and two and a half ounces, and a squash which weighed  $104\frac{1}{4}$  pounds.

The original members of the association were as follows:

Barnhart, C.	Lewelling, Seth
Brock, D.	Pearce, Ashby
Cox, Joseph	Prettyman, ———
Cox, William	Schnebley, D. J.
Cornelius, G.	Stanton, Alfred
Davenport, T. W.	Stone, E. G.
Gilbert, I. N.	Ruble, William
Gilmore, S. M.	Taylor, William E.
Harvey, A.	Terry, Chester N.
Howell, Joseph	Walling, J. D.
Jones, George M.	Woodsides, J.
Ladd, J. W.	

Of these men, but two are now living, viz., T. W. Davenport, Silverton, and Joseph Howell, on Sauvie's Island.

The above item is given to show that the idea of organization in relation to the production of fruit, as well as agriculture in its widest sense, was beginning to take hold of the people.

During the county fairs held in the fall of 1859 it was agreed that the executive committee of each county society should choose a delegate from each county to form a State executive board to arrange all preliminaries for organizing a State Agricultural Society, and holding a fair in the year 1860, and the editor of the Oregon Farmer was authorized to call a meeting of such delegates, which he did on December 7, 1859, in the following words:

"In accordance with an understanding among the different county agricultural societies that have elected delegates to meet and adopt the preliminaries necessary to the inauguration of a State Agricultural Society for Oregon, that the editor of the Oregon Farmer be authorized to call the said delegates together—notice is given that they are requested to assemble at Salem on the 22d day of February, 1860, and adopt such measures as they may deem necessary. It is requested that in all the counties in the State having no organized society, meetings will be held and delegates appointed to represent them. This is a matter in which we all are interested."

The meeting was held at the appointed time and place, and J. Quinn Thornton was chosen chairman pro tem and J. G. Wilson secretary pro tem.

J. Quinn Thornton, Thomas T. Eyre, William Abernethy, L. E. V. Coon, and J. Smith were appointed a committee to prepare a constitution for the State society, and Messrs. Page, Coon and Smith were appointed a committee on credentials, which committee reported that the following persons were entitled to seats in the meeting:

Benton County—J. Quinn Thornton, James Watson.

Clackamas—William Abernethy, Amory Holbrook, and Rev. George H. Atkinson.

Douglas—L. E. V. Coon, R. M. Hutchinson.

Lane—A. A. Smith.

Linn—William McIlree, John Smith, A. Hanan.

Marion—Thomas T. Eyre, William H. Rector, Thomas Cross.

Multnomah—William W. Page, James B. Stevens, Albert G. Walling.

Polk—E. M. Barnum, William Ruble.

Umpqua—Dr. Langley Hall.

The committee on constitution reported the same and it was adopted.

The fee for the first year was fixed at \$5.00; annual membership thereafter, \$5.00. Life membership, \$25.00; but if already a member, \$20.00.

L. E. V. Coon, Amory Holbrook and William McIlree were appointed a committee to prepare and procure suitable certificates of membership.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted as follows:

William H. Rector, president, Marion County.

William McIlree, vice-president, Linn County.

J. Quinn Thornton, vice-president, Benton County.

John Whiteaker, vice-president, Lane County.

Thomas Frazar, vice-president, Multnomah County.



Dr. Langley Hall, vice-president, Umpqua County.  
 R. M. Hutchinson, vice-president, Douglas County.  
 John E. Ross, vice-president, Jackson County.  
 Thomas T. Eyre, vice-president, Marion County.  
 Medorem Crawford, vice-president, Yamhill County.  
 William Barlow, vice-president, Clackamas County.  
 President County Society, vice-president, Wasco County.  
 T. D. Winchester, vice-president, Coos County.  
 Capt. William Tichnor, vice-president, Curry County.  
 Riley Hayden, vice-president, Josephine County.  
 Solomon H. Smith, vice-president, Clatsop County.  
 Thomas Smith, vice-president, Columbia County.  
 C. H. Davidson, vice-president, Tillamook County.  
 Jesse D. Walling, vice-president, Polk County.  
 Samuel E. May, corresponding secretary, Marion County.  
 Lucien Heath, recording secretary, Marion County.  
 John H. Moores, treasurer, Marion County.

A. A. Smith, Lane County; John Smith, Linn County, and William Ruble, of Polk County, were chosen a board of managers.

Committees on finance, library, visiting and publication were appointed.

The Oregon Farmer was declared to be the organ of the society.

Pursuant to a resolution to that end, J. Quinn Thornton was chosen to deliver the first annual address.

The publication committee were authorized to procure 500 certificates of membership and 500 copies of the constitution and by-laws.

By formal vote an invitation was extended to the delegates of the "Oregon Fruit-Growers' Association" to merge that body into the "Oregon State Agricultural Society."

The question of selecting the place where the first annual fair should be was decided, after four ballots, by choosing the Linn County fair grounds by 15 votes, to 9 for a point in Benton County, and the time for holding the fair was fixed for the second Tuesday in October.

On motion, it was—

“Resolved, That a committee be appointed to present a petition to the Legislative Assembly of Oregon, at its next session, praying that body to appropriate money for the support of this society and the formation of county agricultural societies; and that the said committee be, and it is hereby instructed, to accompany said petition with such a representation of facts, as the basis of it, as shall be deemed most likely to accomplish the object sought.”

J. Quinn Thornton, William H. Rector and L. E. V. Coon were appointed the committee referred to.

The foregoing is the substance of the business transacted at the meeting for organization.

In response to the invitation by the Agricultural Society the executive committee of the Oregon Fruit-Growers' Association, composed of Messrs. Thomas T. Eyre, William Ruble and Ashby Pearce, on April 7, 1860, issued a call for a meeting of the entire committee to be held on September 10, following, to take action upon the invitation. This resulted in its acceptance, which act dissolved the “Oregon Fruit-Growers' Association,” and its funds went into the treasury of the State Agricultural Society.

April 8, 1860, J. Quinn Thornton, chairman of the committee to prepare a petition praying for State aid through the legislature, made a strong plea in support of the measure and quoted the examples of Alabama, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio—all giving State aid from \$2,000 to \$5,000 annually. He also declared that he could not vote for any man who would not pledge himself to support such a measure. Among other things Mr. Thornton said: “Most men perceive that some decided action has become necessary to give a new impetus to farming in Oregon. Its languishing condition causes every other industrial pursuit to suffer. Any measure which tends to place the arts of agriculture upon a solid basis is wise and beneficent.”

On September 10, 1860, a second meeting of the Oregon Agricultural Society was held in Salem, with William H. Rector presiding. The constitution was revised to some ex-

tent in order to make it more workable, the yearly dues and admission fee were reduced from \$5.00 to \$1.00, and the life membership from \$25.00 to \$20.00; and if already an annual member, to \$15.00. The annual due was made \$1.00 instead of \$2.50. The time of holding the annual meeting was changed from the second Monday in September of each year to the third Wednesday in September, biennially, and regularly every two years thereafter, the officers so elected to begin their term of service on the first Monday in January following their election.

At this meeting, Mr. George Collier Robbins, a prominent business man of Portland at that time, was elected president. The vice-presidents chosen were as follows, representing each county in the State: Benton, J. Quinn Thornton; Clackamas, J. S. Rinearson; Clatsop, John Hobson; Columbia, Enoch W. Conyers; Coos, T. D. Winchester; Curry, Peter Ruffner; Douglas, R. M. Hutchinson; Jackson, John E. Ross; Josephine, George E. Briggs; Lane, Avery A. Smith; Linn, William McIlree; Marion, Thomas T. Eyre; Multnomah, Thomas Frazar; Polk, J. D. Walling; Tillamook, Edrick Thomas; Umpqua, Dr. Langley Hall; Wasco, Orlando Humason (father of Mrs. John B. Waldo of the present day); Washington, Thomas R. Cornelius; Yamhill, William Dawson.

The corresponding secretary, recording secretary and treasurer of the previous year were elected.

The committees were as follows:

Managers—E. M. Barnum, Marion; Ashby Pearce, Linn; Benjamin Stewart, Yamhill.

Finance Committee—George Collier Robbins, Multnomah; Chester N. Terry and Samuel E. May, Marion.

Library Committee—Samuel E. May and Thomas T. Eyre, Marion; A. G. Walling, Multnomah.

Visiting Committee—Henry W. Eddy, Clackamas; Ralph C. Geer and Thomas T. Eyre, Marion.

Publishing Committee—George Collier Robbins, Multnomah; Samuel E. May and Lucien Heath, Marion.

Of the persons just mentioned only one is now alive, viz., Mr. Enoch W. Conyers, of Clatskanine, Columbia County.

Mr. Simeon Francis, already alluded to, was made an honorary member of the society.

By this time it had been ascertained that it would be impossible to hold the projected State Fair in Linn County, hence it was postponed for this year (1860), after which the following resolution was passed:

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of this society, the first State Fair should be held at Oregon City, provided the citizens of Clackamas county shall comply with the requirements of the board of managers, in furnishing the society with grounds, fixtures, etc., for the said fair, the guarantee for which shall be furnished the president of the society so as to be laid before the board of managers at their January meeting.”

The question of State aid was being discussed more or less during these formative days, and when the legislature met in Salem, September 10th of that year, the friends of the movement sought legislative support, To this end A. C. Gibbs,\* chairman of the committee on judiciary, on September 27, introduced a bill “To encourage the State Agricultural Society and the county agricultural societies,” and this was supported by a memorial from the society. The bill was referred to a select committee of which Medorem Crawford, of Yamhill County, was chairman, which reported it favorably, and the report was adopted. This gave encouragement to

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\*Addison C. Gibbs was the second Governor of the State of Oregon, being elected in 1862 on the “Union” ticket, and took the oath of office on September 10 of that year. He was born in Cattaraugus County, New York, July 9, 1825, became a school teacher, and in 1849 a lawyer. That year he went to the gold mines in California, but not liking the conditions, with one hundred others, on September 12, 1850, he embarked for a new seaport on the Oregon coast called “Umpqua.” He laid out the town of Gardiner, and in 1852 was the first member of the legislature from Umpqua (now Douglas) County. After his term of four years’ service as the “war Governor” of Oregon, which was a peculiarly trying period in the history of Oregon, he was United States District Attorney for the District of Oregon. He died in London, England, in January, 1887, and his remains were brought to Oregon for burial by act of the Legislative Assembly.

the friends of the bill. In the committee of the whole, however, prior to this time, Benjamin Stark, of Multnomah; B. F. Harding, of Marion, and R. B. Cochran, of Lane, all in the lower house, opposed the bill, and on October 16 it was indefinitely postponed.

Believing it to be a matter of interest I quote the bill that was introduced:

“Section 1. Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon: That the Treasurer of the State shall, on the — day of —, 18—, annually, pay to the treasurer of the Oregon State Agricultural Society, the sum of — dollars, out of any money in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated.

“Section 2. The sum granted, as aforesaid, shall be appropriated by the managers of said society to the payment of premiums awarded to encourage and promote the objects for which said society is instituted.

“Section 3. That each of the agricultural societies, not exceeding one in each county, to be hereafter organized in this State, shall be entitled to receive from the State Treasurer, within one year after permanent organization, the sum of — dollars; and the State Treasurer shall, upon the filing in his office of proper evidence of such organization, pay to the treasurer, or fiscal agent, or officer of said society, the sum of — dollars; and the Treasurer of this State shall be entitled to a credit for amounts so paid, in the settlement of his account as such State Treasurer.

“Section 4. The said sum of — dollars thus appropriated to the county agricultural societies, shall be expended in the purchase of premiums to be procured and distributed under direction of said societies, respectively, in the manner prescribed in the constitution and by-laws, or other regulations of said societies.”

The friends of the society were greatly chagrined over the result of their first effort to secure State aid, especially so since twenty-eight out of the fifty members of the legislature were farmers.

At a meeting of the board of managers held in Salem on January 9, 1861, Chester N. Terry was elected corresponding secretary to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Samuel E. May. A committee of five—E. M. Barnum, J. H.



Moore, B. E. Stewart, Lucien Heath, and Thomas T. Eyre—were appointed to correspond with the officers of the Clackamas County Agricultural Society and ascertain whether that society would grant as favorable terms as had been submitted by Lane and Yamhill counties; if not, then the committee were instructed to locate the State Fair at the Yamhill County Fair Grounds. The date of the fair was set for the first Tuesday in October, to run four days.

A favorable reply having been received from the Clackamas County Agricultural Society by the committee having the matter in charge, the board of managers, at its meeting on June 6, 1861, decided to hold the fair at or near Oregon City. At this time the premium list was adopted, of which the following is a condensation:

CLASS I.—*Cattle*.—1—Short Horns; 2—Devons; 3—Herefords; 4—Ayreshires; 5—Alderneys; 6—Graded cattle (cross breeds); 7—Working oxen; 8—Fat cattle; 9—Sweepstakes. Premiums, \$459.00. (Exhibitors of animals in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 must furnish satisfactory evidence of age and pedigree. The judges will exclude over-fat animals, should such be exhibited, the object of the society being to encourage animals suited to breeding purposes. Competitors for No. 8 must file with the secretary affidavits stating the age of the animal, time, manner, kind, quantity and cost of feeding, and all expenses connected with the fattening.)

CLASS II.—*Horses*.—No. 10—Horses of all work. (The "horse of all work" should be 15 hands; quick, lively ears; broad between the eyes; round barrel; short loins; well up in the shoulder; deep chested; square quarters; flat legs; short between knee and pastern, and hock and pastern; hind legs well under him; speed equal to eight miles an hour on the road; and at least three miles on the plow; with sufficient blood to insure spirit and endurance; and no horse in this or any other class shall be allowed to compete for a premium unless he be sound.) No. 11—Draft horses; No. 12—Thoroughbreds; No. 13—Roadsters; No. 14—Colts, without reference to blood; No. 15—Matched carriage horses, 16 hands or over; No. 16—Matched carriage horses, 16 hands or under; No. 17—Matched roadsters, with reference to speed; No. 18—Speed; No. 19—Speed and bottom; No. 20—Mares and colts; No. 21—Jacks and mules. (The exhibitor who, on the first

and second classes, shall receive the greatest number of second premiums, shall receive an honorary gratuity of the society's large silver goblet.) Premiums, \$549.00. In addition, 12 large silver medals and 12 small ones were offered for competition.

CLASS III.—*Sheep, Swine and Poultry*.—No. 22—Saxons; No. 23—Spanish Merinos; No. 24—French Merinos; No. 25—Southdowns; No. 26—Cotswolds; No. 27—Fat sheep; No. 28—Best shepherd dog; No. 29—Swine; No. 30—Poultry, Dunghill fowls, turkeys, ducks, geese, swan, guinea fowls, pea fowls; No. 31—Rabbits. Premiums, \$374.00.

CLASS IV.—*Plowing Implements and Machinery*.—No. 32—Plowing match; No. 33—Agricultural implements. Premiums, \$18.00 and two large silver medals.

CLASS V.—*Grains, Seeds, Vegetables and Dairy*. Premiums, \$146.00, and a number of large, medium and small silver medals.

CLASS VI.—*Domestic Manufactures*. Forty-one articles were embraced under this subdivision, and the premiums offered were \$66.00, one large and one small silver medal, and thirty-one diplomas.

CLASS VII.—*Natural History, Mining Products, Art and Home Work*. The first, twenty-one articles; second, twenty-one; third, twenty-one; fourth, eighteen. Premiums, natural history, first and second, \$36.00; mining products, diplomas; works of art, \$21.00, seven plates and thirteen diplomas; home work, \$73.00, fourteen plates, and one diploma.

CLASS VIII.—*Fruits, Flowers, Plants, Designs, Etc.* Premiums, \$149.00.

CLASS IX.—*Miscellaneous*. Equestrianism, Music, Essay. Premiums, three large silver medals, four medium silver medals, one small silver medal, eight plates, and \$65.00.

The cost of membership ticket, admitting a person during the fair, \$1.00; single admission, gentleman, 50 cents; lady, 25 cents; children coming with their parents, free.

A general invitation was extended to the citizens of Washington Territory and California to be present.

The cash premiums offered aggregated \$1,881.00.

On September 7, 1861, the board of managers met on the fair grounds near Oregon City, and made the final arrangements for the fair. Jacob S. Risley was contracted with for two tons of straw at \$7.50 per ton; Peter M. Rinearson agreed

to furnish five tons of hay at \$12.00 per ton; A. G. Walling was appointed to arrange for half-fare with the Portland ferry for all persons who intended to go to the State Fair, and Jacob S. Rinearson was appointed a committee to make the same arrangement with the Oregon City ferry; it was ordered that an entrance fee of \$10.00 be charged for trotting horses over three years old; \$2.50 for horses three years old and under; a premium of \$50.00 was fixed for the best trotter entered over three years old; the trotting to take place on the third and fourth days of the fair; Jacob S. Rinearson was appointed marshal-in-chief of the Fair Grounds, with power to appoint as many assistants as he thought necessary in order to preserve good order; he was also appointed to contract with applicants for an eating table, meals not to exceed 25 cents, exclusive of coffee—that to be an extra charge.

The following persons were appointed superintendents of classes:

- Class No. I—Jacob S. Risley, Oregon City.
- Class No. II—D. C. Stewart, North Yamhill.
- Class No. III—William Abernethy, Oregon City.
- Class No. IV—M. S. Burrell, Portland.
- Class No. V—T. G. Naylor, Forest Grove.
- Class No. VI—S. D. Francis, Oregon City.
- Class No. VII—Joseph Buchtel, Portland.
- Class No. VIII—Thomas T. Eyre, Salem.
- Class No. IX—W. Carey Johnson, Oregon City.

Of these persons there are three now living, viz., William Abernethy, Forest Grove, and Joseph Buchtel and W. Carey Johnson, Portland.

At the meeting of the board of managers on September 30, 1861, George Collier Robbins tendered his resignation as president of the society, and Simeon Francis was elected to that position. W. Carey Johnson, declining to serve as superintendent of Class IX, John Gill Campbell was appointed to fill the vacancy. It was voted that an entrance fee of \$1.00 be charged for running horses.

The annual address was made by the president of the society, Mr. Simeon Francis. Although he had not been a resident of Oregon but two years, he had become keenly alive to its possibilities as a State of unsurpassed resources. His entire address is worthy of repetition at this time, in view of its forecast of what was to be from his then point of view; but I content myself with reproducing the closing paragraph, which deserves consideration today as much as nearly half a century ago:

“I wish to say a few words which shall sink deep into the hearts of the farmers and mechanics, and other men interested in agriculture, now before me. The great interest of this State is agricultural. The welfare of all other interests depend upon its success. A very large portion of the property of this State belongs to the farmers. You pay a large proportion of the taxes. It is from your pockets that the treasury is filled. At the last session of the legislature, this society and its active friends asked for a small pittance from its hands to give this society a start upon what I believe will be a glorious career. We told them that this had been done in all the States, and that it had operated to stimulate industry, to increase the amount of taxable property, and would pay back to the treasury a hundred-fold for the means that thus would be withdrawn from it. We pointed them to the action and results in the richest and most prosperous agricultural States of this Union. We pointed out to them the weakness of this society, its needs, and to the advantages that such justice would secure to our people. Their answer was—No! I now say to you that when such men again seek your suffrages for the legislature—answer them, No! When men come to you and tell you of your high position as American farmers—that you are the bone and muscle and the sinew of the country, and solicit your votes for seats in the legislature, and will not pledge themselves to measures for the great interest of Oregon, in every form in which they can be presented—answer them, No! Could my voice upon this subject reach the farmers of every mountain and valley, hill and dale of Oregon, I would say to them, Send men to the legislature in whom you have faith, who will act for your interests—who will respond to your reasonable requests—and to those that hesitate—who speak doubtfully, answer with all the energy of free men, No! No!!!”



The annual address was given by J. Quinn Thornton, a lawyer by profession, and a pioneer of 1846, who was an important character in Oregon for more than thirty years. His address was well received and generally characterized as an exceedingly good one, but was criticised at the time as being more the result of theory than of practice. Notwithstanding this criticism, the few brief quotations here given will indicate that the speaker had many thoroughly practical ideas which lie at the foundation of successful farming:

"Agriculture is now everywhere recognized as the commanding interest of enlightened States."

"\* \* \* It is my opinion that so fair and beautiful a land as Oregon never before suffered so much in consequence of the numbers of persons in it who are unwilling to work."

"In order to success in agriculture as a pursuit there must be a concurrence of three things, the will, the power, and the skill."

"To be a successful farmer one must understand the philosophy of the rotation of crops, which is built upon a knowledge of the laws of vegetable nutrition."

"A man who expects to conduct a farm profitably must attend to several particulars. He must have good implements of husbandry—and plenty of them. They must be of the improved kind. They must be kept in order and in their place—of course under shelter."

"Although the manure pile and the muck heap are a mine of wealth, it is to be regretted that few farmers in Oregon realize their value; and it is shameful that most of it is suffered to be lost by evaporation and by being exposed to rains."

"Hiring under any circumstances will require the personal superintendence of the proprietor of the premises as essential to productive farming, the presence of the head of the farm and the use of his eyes being necessary to quicken diligence, and is of much more value than the services of the very best manager."

"It cannot be too deeply impressed upon the mind that what is worth cultivation at all is worth a thorough cultivation. More bushels of wheat can be obtained from ten acres deeply plowed, seasonably planted, and kept clean and loose, than from forty acres, put in and tended as is customary with so many men who have no proper appreciation of the true position of the American farmer."



On October 4, the last day of the fair, the board of managers held a meeting and a number of complimentary resolutions were passed, tendering thanks to various persons for services in aiding to make the effort a success, it having surpassed all expectations, in almost all directions.

Almost every comment made upon the enterprise was favorable. One party said: "I liked pretty much everything I saw at the fair—but the grounds. We must have smoother and better next year, and where we will not have to cross so many rivers."

Another party said: "We all feel proud of the first State Fair in Oregon, but we must learn to begin in time."

After the lapse of forty-six years it is a matter of interest to be able to state nearly the exact spot where the first State Fair was held. It was on the north bank of the Clackamas River, about half a mile from its junction with the Willamette, and about two miles below Oregon City. The area occupied was about four acres, and was upon the land owned at that time by Peter M. Rinearson, a pioneer of 1845. "The ground includes shade trees and the excellent springs on the bank of the river. The river is easily fordable opposite for carriages and horses; a bridge can be used by those who desire it, and boats can land near the grounds. There are good camping grounds with wood and water convenient. For the exercise of horses, trotting, etc., and lady equestrianism, a large field has been enclosed. On the whole, we think the arrangements very good for the exhibition."

It would extend this paper to undue length to give the full list of premiums awarded, hence only the names of the competitors in the several classes are given:

Class I.—Wright, King & Co., Ralph C. Geer, Thomas Cross, M. Wilkins, and W. T. Newby.

Class II.—Hardin McAllister, F. Shoemaker, E. L. DeLashmutt, W. T. Newby, J. W. Miller, Cyrus Smith, M. P. Gilliam, John G. Baker, E. Bedwell, J. Sanders, D. J. Coffey, J. Laughlin, M. Fountain, Sanford Wilcox, G. Klingly, William Barlow, R. Arthur, Joseph Knott, John Downing, S. and

I. Durbin, I. A. Austin, Emery & Rickey, C. Plummer, R. C. Geer, S. Coffin, J. Watt (Salem.)

Class III.—Spanish Merinos, William Abernethy, W. B. Magers, J. L. Parrish, John Minto, John B. Roberts; French Merinos, John Minto, A. Carey, J. L. Parrish, T. G. Naylor; Southdown, Ralph C. Geer, M. J. Lane, Archibald McKinlay; Swine, R. C. Geer, Thomas Cross, Henry W. Eddy; Poultry, William Holmes, Benjamin Roop.

Class IV.—L. & S. W. Rinearson, Oregon-made plow; Knapp, Burrell & Co., H. W. Corbett, William Barlow, Joseph Jones, George Coggan, and John Downing.

Class V.—L. D. C. Latourette, William Barlow, Joseph Magone, L. W. Morgan, Martin Luper, Knapp, Burrell & Co., Dr. Perry Prettyman, W. C. Laughlin, H. Johnson, Joel Palmer, C. Deardorff, Miss Isabella Laughlin, John Laughlin, A. J. Durfur, Mrs. G. W. Taylor, A. J. Chapman, Morgan Gleason, John Nacend.

Class VI.—J. Harbison, beehive; L. D. C. Latourette, honey; Darius Smith, telegraph churn; Mrs. Charles Walker, domestic soap; Miss Mary L. Holmes, domestic soap; F. Fisher, one pair boots; Mrs. M. Deardorff, stocking-yarn; Mrs. E. G. Waldron, potato starch; L. Behrens, keg lager beer; Dr. P. Prettyman, beehive.

Class VII.—Mrs. W. W. Williams, Dr. J. H. Black, Buchtel & Cardwell, Dr. J. R. Cardwell, Miss Emma Johnson, Mrs. A. A. Hodges, W. Lynn White, Mrs. L. D. C. Latourette, Mrs. E. G. Rogers, Mrs. A. H. Steele, Miss M. E. Skaife (now Mrs. Eugene A. Breyman, Salem), Dr. L. S. Skiff, Mrs. Julia Ann Lewis, Thomas T. Eyre, Mrs. J. Byrne, Mrs. Charles Walker, Mrs. M. L. Sawtelle, Mrs. M. S. Lansdale, Miss Frankie Holmes, Miss Philomene Matthieu, F. C. Pomeroy, Miss Ellen Wilcox, Mrs. E. D. Kelly, Mrs. D. W. Craig, James Wise, Mrs. M. C. Geer, Miss Lucinda Deardorff, Mrs. Cyrus Smith, Mrs. Alfred Stanton, Mrs. William Barlow, William Abernethy, J. C. Franklin, Walling & Carter, Miss Jane Walling, G. W. Walling, Mrs. G. W. Taylor, Mrs. E. S. Francis, Mrs. Emily Hunsaker, Mrs. Aaron E. Wait, Mrs. N. M. Thorton, Miss Henrie S. Moss, Miss Amy Gaines, Miss Jennie Gaines, Mrs. S. Francis.

Class VIII.—D. D. Tompkins, S. Miller, Seth Lewelling, William Abernethy, John Mathiot, C. N. Greenman, W. C. Laughlin. Floral Designs—Mrs. A. H. Steele, William Simmons, Miss Effie E. Morgan, J. T. Hunsaker, L. C. Burkhart, Charles Walker, Joel Palmer, Peter A. Weiss, P. P. Pretty-

man, G. W. Walling, Thomas T. Eyre, Eddy, Miller & Lambert, E. S. Jocelyn.

Class IX.—Hardin McAlister, James McNary, Dr. Perry Prettyman, William Holmes, J. W. Lewis, Barney Fitzpatrick, Martin Luper, F. C. Pomeroy, Mrs. M. C. Geer, Mrs. Aaron E. Wait, Mrs. N. M. Thornton, Miss A. E. Thornton, G. W. Walling, Frank Dekum, E. G. Bryant, L. E. Pratt, C. Roop, J. Quinn Thornton, Joseph E. Hurford, Miss Sarah Hunsaker, Mrs. Ezra Weston, Dr. William Keil.

In all there were one hundred and forty-two exhibitors and two hundred and sixty-two premiums were awarded. Many of the exhibitors became permanent patrons of the society as long as they lived—but not many of them are alive at this time. Personally, I can only recall the following:

Breyman, Mrs. Eugene A. (formerly Miss M. E. Skaife), Salem.

Craig, Mrs. D. W., Salem.

Durbin, Solomon, Salem.

Minto, John, Salem.

Holmes, Miss Mary L., Oregon City.

Kelly, Mrs. E. D., Oregon City.

Greenman, Clark N., Oregon City.

Buchtel, Joseph, Portland.

Cardwell, Dr. James R., Portland.

Lambert, J. H., Portland.

Hodges, Mrs. Annie Abernethy, Buffalo, N. Y. (She was a daughter of Governor Abernethy.)

Currey, Mrs. George B. (formerly Miss Jennie Gaines), La Grande.

Abernethy, William, Dora, Coos County, but temporarily living at Forest Grove while educating his children.

The detailed report of the fair closes with the following reflections:

“The principal and only just cause of complaint in the management of the fair, was that there was no specific programme of each day’s proceedings conspicuously posted, so as to inform the spectators of what was to be done, and when and where it was to be done. We would suggest that the exhibitors should hereafter appoint a certain hour in each day to go about with reporters, so that a fair understanding of the merit of each article can be arrived at; for it would be ex-

pecting too much to suppose that one should discover of himself all those things which should be made public. This plan will insure a fair notice, and prevent mistakes."

The editor of the *Oregon Farmer*, Albert G. Walling ostensibly, but really Simeon Francis, who did most excellent work in assisting to stir up public sentiment in support of the Agricultural Society, in commenting on the fair, says:

"The first Oregon State Fair has come and gone. The weather was good—the fair well attended—the exhibition fair—and take it all together, we are satisfied with our first effort. There were some errors which will hereafter be corrected—some improvements which experience has taught can be made—and we have no doubt, with a good location, the second fair will greatly exceed in interest and importance, the first, though with that we are satisfied. We were greatly pleased that many of our friends adopted our suggestions of coming to the fair with their families and forming camps within the vicinity of the Fair Grounds. That was done to a great extent, and young and old enjoyed the instructions and pleasures of the fair, and were well satisfied. So we thought, and we feel certain that if there were 500 people in camp at the fair just closed, there will be four times that many at the next State Fair.

"On the whole, we congratulate the farmers of the State, the members and officers of the State Agricultural Society, that the labors expended in getting up the first fair, resulted in distinguished success! With proper industry and good management on the part of the officers, we believe the State Agricultural Society will, hereafter, in its efforts to advance the farming interests of our State, go on its way rejoicing."

The *Oregon City Argus* of October 5 said:

"This fair was a decided success and has given a decided impetus to the march of agricultural improvement in the State, and will no doubt be followed by many succeeding State Fairs, all marking a steady ratio of onward and upward progress. We hope the next State Fair will be held on grounds selected with a view to the comfort of thousands who may be expected to go there. It ought to be held in some beautiful grove, such as Marion, Polk, Linn, and other counties boast many of, contiguous to a small prairie, with wood and water handy, so as to enable families to camp out—we ought to have a regular camp-meeting fair, where old folks can meet to-



gether, and have a jolly good time sitting around a board covered with bright tin dishes, and loaded with nicely cooked products of the farm.”

According to the same paper, one of the most interesting features of the fair was the competition of sixteen young ladies and the same number of young gentlemen for the premiums (first and second—large and medium silver medals) for equestrianism. The ladies who competed were as follows: Miss Belle Case, Polk; Miss Delma Belknap, Mrs. Poole, Washington; Miss Susan L. Gearhart, Clatsop; Miss Dear-dorff, Mrs. Edmonds, and Miss Paulina Tompkins, Clackamas; Oregon City ladies: Miss Frankie Holmes, Miss Mollie L. Holmes, Miss Susan Jackson, Misses Julia and Amy Johnson, Miss Henrietta Miller, Misses Amanda and Jennie Gaines.

Miss Case, of Polk, and Miss Jackson, of Clackamas, were awarded the first and second premiums, and among the gentlemen Mr. Post, of Polk, and Samuel Headrick, of Marion, first and second premiums.

The receipts were as follows, according to the statement rendered by Lucien Heath, financial secretary:

Tickets and admissions .....	\$1,321.17
Licenses .....	125.00

*Expenditures.*

Amount paid for premiums.....	\$ 758.00	
Amount of bills paid.....	442.67	
Amount of cash on hand to balance.....	245.50	
	\$1,446.17	\$1,446.17

At the close of the first fair there were on the secretary's books sixty-six names as members, seven paying \$5.00 each, and fifty-nine paying \$1.00 each, aggregating \$94.00 from that source.

The grounds at Oregon City not being satisfactory, at the meeting on the 4th of October, 1861, the board of managers decided to advertise for proposals for a place to hold the second State Fair; accordingly the following notice was sent out by Chester N. Terry, corresponding secretary:



“CORRESPONDING SECRETARY’S OFFICE,  
“Salem, Oregon, October 9, 1861.

“Proposals will be received at the office of the corresponding secretary until January 1, 1862, for the place of holding the second annual State Fair. Said proposals must state the situation of the ground, the amount of land enclosed, which must include the track; the amount of shedding for stock, with the number of stalls, with size of building for the reception of fruits, machinery, and other articles; also, seats on the ground to seat ladies during the exhibition of horsemanship, etc.; also, a small building, suitably finished inside, with adequate fixtures, near the gate entrance, for the secretary’s office; and how the grounds are situated as to water for stock and other purposes; also, judges’ stands. The proposals must be signed by responsible persons, with a guarantee that the grounds will be fitted up according to the proposals.”

In response to the foregoing the agricultural societies of Yamhill, Lane and Linn counties made proposals for the fair; and on December 2, 1861, W. J. Herren, president of the Marion County Society, sent out a call for a meeting of that body to be held on December 28, “to make such arrangements as to secure to this county the State Fair of 1862.”

At this meeting it was found that the Marion County Society owned eight acres of land about a mile northeast of Salem; that there was an indebtedness of \$3,714.50 against it—\$2,100.00 for land, and \$614.50 for improvements. A committee of three was appointed to provide relief, and at the same time to secure the location of the State Society at Salem, and accordingly a proposal was submitted to the board of managers of the State Society, which was accepted by that body on June 17, 1862, and on July 15, 1862, it was announced that the second State Fair of Oregon would be held on the Marion County Fair Grounds on “Tuesday, September 30, 1862, and continue four days.”

On September 18, 1862, at a meeting of the State Society, the question of permanent location was considered, and a vote thereon taken, which resulted as follows: Salem, 65; Oregon City, 2; Eugene, 1; Corvallis, 1. Salem having received a majority over all other places, was declared to be the permanent location.

## RECOLLECTIONS OF AN INDIAN AGENT—IV.

By T. W. DAVENPORT.

The Indian's side of the story, in his conflict with the white man, will never be fully told, and it need not be. Something of it is known and the rest can be predicted. An unprogressive being was he, quite well satisfied with the present, unstimulated by the past, non-apprehensive of the future, and any one can say of such a being that in contact with one in all things the reverse, a restless mortal dissatisfied with the present, with a history pointing upwards, apprehensive of the future and always striving for individual and social betterment; in other words, continually working on his environment and full of the enthusiasm of progress which coveted the earth—yes, any one can say that the former would be the victim, the one sinned against, and the latter the sinner, whatever the annals might show. As it is, however, Poor Lo must stand in history as the barbarian resisting unto death the advance of civilization. Of course, if the American aborigine persisted in his habit of depending upon the spontaneous productions of the earth for a living, he must and should go to the wall in a contest with those whose habits of contributing their labor and thought to increase the bounties of nature, put them in harmony with nature's other edict, that man should multiply and replenish the earth. The two modes of life are irreconcilably antagonistic. One is at variance with any considerable increase of population and means destruction either by war or famine to hold it in check; the other is consistent with increase of population, invites to individual effort of mind and body in utilizing the forces of nature and thus leads to civilization.

This natural and therefore inevitable antagonism, which must produce perpetual conflict even when both sides to it are governed by humane principles, was never brought home

to the Indian except by the terrible tuition of force. Even among our own citizens who have had the opportunities for enlightenment that come from colleges and schools, how many of them have considered this as a philosophical question and looked with compassion upon the red brother who is wholly without such helps to form a proper judgment and thereby incline him to habits promotive of peace and a progressive life. And this tuition of force and destruction, in its entirety, has been unknown to the Indian. Each tribe and probably contiguous tribes could know of it as applied to themselves, but of its history, extent, and universality, they could not know. The Indian, without science and arts, except the rudest, without literature or a recorded history, what could he know of the advance of that persistent, cumulative and relentless force, which resist as he would, was crowding him off the earth? And in this so-called race conflict, are we, with all our science, history, and philosophy, in a mental condition to do justice to the character of this barbarian? I fear that we are not. We say that he is cruel, treacherous, revengeful, indiscriminate in slaughter when at war, and receives pleasure in torturing his enemies. Admit it all, and the Indian, if he had the ability to read our history, could say that every such allegation is true of the white man in overflowing degree. Yes, the Indian is indiscriminate and inclined to hold the white race responsible for the acts of an individual, and in my experience at the Umatilla, as I have elsewhere related, there was not a case of grievance alleged by a white man against an Indian, that he did not, in his anger, mutter maledictions against the whole Indian breed and blame Uncle Sam for trying to make anything out of it. I did not therefore rush to the conclusion that the white man is no better than the Indian, for in every such instance, after the relations between the races had been explained, and the provocatives to individual resistance and retaliation for the white man's encroachments were shown, the white denouncer proved his superiority by exhibiting a more fraternal spirit towards his red brother.

If by the declaration that the red man's story will never be told, is meant that there is a darker hue than has been given to the white man's side of the conflict, evidently it should not be told. Enough has been recorded of both sides to show that too large a part of both races are at times given over to destructive frenzy. That is the way with all tribes and nations, and this fact or the degree of the fact is not in the right direction to find the measure of their advancement, which, in the language of the mathematician, is to be found in the summation of the series.

We have only to look across the line into the British possessions of North America to see that their treatment of the Indian has been more promotive of peace and good will than ours, and some people are swift to conclude that the Canadians are of a higher moral tone than the people of the United States. The true reason lies in the fact that their system of government has a more constant and more powerful restraining influence upon the lawless class in society. There is more individual freedom with us, and consequently more room for departure from the normal line of conduct. This difference is boldly in evidence to those of our citizens who have lived in mining regions governed by Canadian officers, whose official tenure does not depend upon the mood of the populace. The mounted police of the Dawson country is a much better protection to the inhabitants than our system of elective sheriffs and constables. My brother, John C. Davenport, who owned gold mines in British Columbia, was very decided in his preference for the summary proceedings there, in restraining the predatory class that infest the mines of every country and by collusion and false swearing beat honest people out of their rightful possessions. The commissioner appointed to investigate cases of conflict, examines into the merits of each and makes a report, upon which the "frauds" are admonished to take themselves off, and in case of refusal are lodged in jail. As a general rule such methods are satisfactory to honest claimants, but when those armed with such powers become, pecuniarily or otherwise, interested in a vitiation of

justice, then our people perceive that they have a power to contend with that is more to be dreaded than the temporary mis-verdicts of public opinion. It has been proved hundreds of times that despotic governments are favorable to what is termed "law and order," but the individual surveillance promotive of it is also destructive to that individual freedom without which human progression is impossible. So, as we in the United States have adopted progression as our shibboleth, our Indian question and the history we have made in connection with it, must be viewed from our standpoint. And this means that we must look at what the people have done individually or rather desultorily (and this of course points to the frontiersman), and what has been done by the government. And upon separating these two modes of conduct great dissimilarity may be observed. On the frontier where individualism prevailed, unhindered to a great extent by governmental restraint, the contest between the two forms of society was one of mutual distrust, hate, and retaliation, in which the destructive faculties of both races were conspicuously displayed.

On our part it was always one of encroachment, of necessity, so as we have seen, in which the view point of the Indian was never essayed; his ideas, customs, and rights as he viewed them, seldom respected, and hence all his powers of resistance were brought to the front with most alarming ferocity. It must not be assumed, however, that this fretful edge of civilization was all brutishness; there were conspicuous examples of wisdom and benevolence on our part, enough to temper in some degree the asperities of the conflict, but not enough to control. The government, on the other hand, took a larger view of the situation by recognizing the possessory rights of the Indians, making treaties, buying large tracts needed by us for expansion and, with the consent of the tribes, moving them westward or placing them upon reservations where advancements of money and goods were made to assist them in becoming agriculturists. It is pleasant to know that such was the declared policy of the national government, though we



are compelled to admit that it has fallen lamentably short in the fulfilment of its promises. As all popular governments must be, ours has been swerved by the *vox populi*, which is not uninfluenced by merely selfish considerations that find their opportunity in maladjustments and war. There have not been wanting men to make known and resist such abuses, and others of an unofficial character; enough has been done to show that with more deliberation, a better knowledge of the Indian character, a proper regard for his beliefs and customs, and the cultivation of a more fraternal spirit, the advance of civilization would have proceeded without the horrors that have attended it. From the first, the treatment of the Indian by the white man is unexplainable except upon the assumption that he was so far inferior that he must not stand in the way of the latter and yield up to him everything to satisfy his avaricious and lustful desires. We are so unconsciously in the habit of passing over the Indian as unworthy of notice that we speak of Christopher Columbus as being the discoverer of America, although millions of human beings had occupied the continent for untold ages. From that time onward the natives were considered legitimate objects of conquest and exploitation, and with the exception of the missionary work of the Christians, were so treated. History has no blacker pages than those relating the conquest of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards, in which Dr. Draper says they extinguished a civilization scarcely inferior to their own. Our treatment of the Indian has been mild in comparison, still we have not regarded him as entitled to equal rights with ourselves, notwithstanding our Jeffersonian principles. In this we erred as every experiment in fraternal treatment has proved.

Lewis and Clark, guided by the humanitarian admonitions of Jefferson, passed the breadth of the continent unmolested and even welcomed by the so-called savages, numerous enough to have annihilated them at the commencement of the journey. With the Indian, as with other people, the exhibition of a kindly and just spirit goes far to bring about reciprocal sentiment and makes for peace. And it may as well be said, that

without such sympathies people do not become acquainted; they cannot weigh each other. How many times conflicts and wars could have been averted by a mutual understanding, by putting ourselves in the Indian's place.

And here I must narrate an incident that occurred on the plains in the year 1850. Our train of fifteen wagons and as many men was passing through the Otoe Indian country, some fifty miles west of the Missouri River, when descending into a hollow we came unexpectedly upon a hundred Indians sitting in a semi-circle facing the road. One of them arose and approached, evidently with the desire to say something. The train halted and this man said that his brethren sitting there were Otoe Indians, that they had depended in times past upon hunting and fishing for a living, but since the travel through their country to Sante Fe, Salt Lake, California and Oregon had become so constant during the hunting season, there was no longer any game for them. They could not go north or west without meeting with their enemies, the Pawnees and Sioux, or to the south without coming in contact with the more dreaded Comanches, and they thought it not out of the proper way to ask travelers through their country to contribute something for their support. This was said in good English and with a respectful manner. At that, one of our men, Mr. Ephraim Cranston, from Ohio, began what I should call a Fourth of July oration, in which he informed the Indian speaker in grandiloquent style that we were American citizens, entitled to travel anywhere in Uncle Sam's dominions and that we came prepared to resist any encroachments upon our rights.

At the close of that peroration, the Indians, if they had been inclined to ridicule, should have given liberal applause, for we had no guns in sight and probably could not have presented a loaded rifle in 15 minutes by the watch, while there sat 100 Indians with their guns, every one presumably ready for instant service. The Indian, like a sensible man, made no reply and my father asked him how much they had been requesting travellers to contribute. He answered, \$1

a wagon. "I see, I see," said father, "your request seems to be reasonable and here are three dollars for our three wagons." A Mr. Collins, late a professor in a Kentucky college, said, "Dr. Davenport, you pay one dollar for me and I will hand it to you this evening at camp." When all had paid, the Indians arose and one of them, the chief, came forward, addressed my father as Doctor Davenport, and began to converse with him in faultless English. We learned afterwards that he had attended an American college. He wished to know which were our wagons, and after they were pointed out, he said, "Doctor, your buggy ought not to be called more than half a wagon," and addressing a word or two in his own language to the collector, the latter handed father half a dollar. Turning to Mr. Cranston, who was ill at ease, from the adverse outcome of his oratory, the chief asked, "How many fighting men have you, Captain?" Mr. Cranston no doubt felt that the question was rather on the sarcastic order and remained silent. Likely, there would have been no danger in refusing to contribute, but the incident is valuable in showing how easily conflicts arise between people having different ideas, customs and laws. Mr. Cranston, though in this instance sadly indiscreet, was a well-informed man and knew that the Otoes claimed the country we were travelling over and that the general government had not purchased their claim, but ensconced in the egotism common to a large part of the American people, he had dismissed the Indian notion of tribal ownership as childish and the practice of the government in treating with them and purchasing the land claimed by them, as worse than foolish, for it confirmed them in the absurd opinion that they really owned the land they had been in the habit of roaming over. Still, as a matter of natural justice, and in every aspect of the case, the Otoes had the best of the argument. They were natives to the soil, their ancestors for untold generations had occupied and possessed it, there was no allegation of conflicting claims, and so their title was good by every condition precedent, ever urged by any civilized nation. At that time the government maintained

an agency in the Otoes' country and was doing something in the line of improvement, as they were hemmed in by hostile tribes that kept them away from the buffalo country. Here the Missouri River was the western boundary of civilization, which was with difficulty restrained from invading the Indian territory.

And here, as at every other point where the white and red man met, their attitude was one of personal antagonism leading to destructive physical conflict. And when we go further back and inquire into the antecedents of the contestants, there should be no wonder as to the result; in the nature of things it could not be otherwise. As we have shown, civilization, devoid of personality, is essentially aggressive, and when we add to this the education of the white man, the explanation is complete.

From the cradle up he was the recipient of folk lore which placed the Indian as his hereditary and implacable enemy. To the childish request, "Grandma, tell me a story," it was bear or Indian, ghost stories being too tame for frontier life, and that the bear and Indian did not stand upon the same plane as objects to be exterminated, seldom entered into the thoughts of the grandmother or the little one soon to take part in the conquest of the wilderness. When older, his reading was of a like kind, *Western Adventures*, *Border Wars*, etc., in which the Indian was pictured as a war demon isolated from every human affection, and the white warrior as battling for family, kindred, home and country. Granny might bring tears to the eyes of her little auditors by telling how the bear's cubs moaned over their dead mother, but no tears flowed for the Indian children made destitute by this perpetual conflict. No thought was taken of them. With such tuition isn't it to the credit of the white man that his side of the story is no worse?

Daniel Boone, when an old man and entertaining some young admirers with his hunting experiences, spoke of the grand excitement the hunter feels when in the pursuit of "big game"—deer, bear, elk, buffalo, etc. "But boys," said

he, "the grandest game of all is Indians." And Daniel Boone was not a bad or blood-thirsty man. In fact quite the reverse. From his first entry into Kentucky, that "Dark and Bloody Ground," his life was one long contest with the savages, with scarcely an intermission of peace. From the persistence and intensity with which the Indians of that State and the country north of the Ohio River resisted the white man's approach, it seemed as though they were actuated by a common purpose to defend their country to the last extremity.

There is nothing more exciting in human annals, nothing more inspiring to the virile resolution and forces of men than the hair-breadth escapes, the thrilling adventures and heroic fortitude exhibited by the pioneers in their life-and-death struggle with the red man for possession of the great, rich and beautiful valley of the Ohio. And Daniel Boone was the wise counsellor, the indefatigable protector, the wary and skillful warrior, in truth, the most striking and picturesque figure of the many extraordinary personages, both men and women, who contributed to the desired result. In his day and in his circumstances, there was no room for philosophical disquisition and broad views that might have brought other means to bear in the solution of that terrible problem, and he can well be pardoned for an utterance in his old age which smacks of a love of diabolism.

Omitting the Indian's side of the story, the needless individual aggressions, the breaking of promises that involved the public faith, some of them that in the nature of things could not be fulfilled and ought never to have been made, the making of treaties under duress, the frequently recurring and cruel demands to leave their ancestral homes and burial places and go westward into strange and comparatively barren regions surrounded by enemies of their own race, omitting all these from the white man's view, as indeed they were, and recollecting only his own side, the vacant seats at the fireside, the ambush and the Indian's deadly aim, the captivity and torture, the scalping knife and tomahawk, is it any particular wonder that in his view the only good Indians are dead Indians and



that he should think of them as "varmints" to be killed on sight? This may be thought an extreme view, as indeed it is, when applied to the government or the whole people of the United States, but it is not extreme in its application to most of those who have had to bear the brunt of the conflict resulting from the impact of the two antagonistic modes of human existence.

An incident which illustrates this branch of the subject is related in Lyman's late History of Oregon, viz.: that of a young man in the emigration of 1847, who wantonly shot a squaw that was in a tree gathering boughs for a bed. I had an account of it from one of the members of the train and have no doubt as to the truth of his narration. The young fellow had said frequently that he intended to kill an Indian and get into line with his ancestors who were Indian fighters. His boasting was thought to be mere gas and no serious attention was given to it, further than to remark that killing Indians had better be postponed to a more propitious season. One day while the company was encamped he returned from a hunt and coolly informed his fellow travellers that he had made his word good by shooting an Indian. His story was not credited, but soon a band of Indians arrived and demanded the murderer. Strenuous efforts were made to indemnify the justly irate Indians by the payment of goods, money, cattle or anything in the train, but they were not to be appeased by such presents, and as they largely outnumbered the emigrants, no effectual resistance could be opposed to their requisition. Knowing that in their present mood the victim would meet with a most cruel death, as a last resort, they proposed a trial and conviction after the manner of the white man's court. Nothing would do, he had to be given up to the Indians, who flayed him alive in hearing of the horror-stricken emigrants. It would have been more in accordance with their reputation to have robbed or massacred the train. It is stated in the aforesaid history that thirty-two white immigrants were killed by the Snake Indians in the year 1851, but there is no provocation or incident given by the

historian as a reason for such hostility. Presumably he knew of none or he would have recorded the fact. There was one, however, well known to the members of the train in which the first casualty occurred. The Patterson train arrived at Rock Creek on the south side of Snake River about the middle of July. Dr. Patterson, as camp hunter, had preceded the train and, finding a small party of Indians encamped upon the best place on the creek, he ordered them off. They did not heed or maybe did not understand his commands, and he brought his shotgun into play, pointing it at them and at last firing it over their heads. Thereupon they took hasty leave and the next morning at dawn, one of the guards, a Mr. Black from Indiana, was shot through the abdomen while standing before the campfire. The same morning two others in trains near by were slightly wounded.

Our train, Mac Alexander's, arrived at the Rock Creek camp the evening of that day, and we saw Mr. Black, examined his wound and heard from members of the train the recital given above. I heard the story from several of the company and there was no material difference. There seemed to be no excuse for Patterson, although all agreed that he intended no bodily harm to the Indians. I wrote it down at the time, as did my mother, who included it in letters to friends East, and it is a little strange that it did not get into print. I have a letter before me from the Hon. John N. Davis, of Marion County, Oregon, who claims to be the only survivor of the Patterson train. He writes from memory and cannot give the exact date of the occurrence, but says it was about the middle of July, and he gives the first name of Mr. Black (Presly), which I never knew, and also stated that he lived seventeen days afterwards and was buried on Birch Creek. I can corroborate Mr. Davis's memory as to the latter, for I was present at his deathbed and assisted to bury him on Birch Creek. Mr. Davis goes a little more into details concerning Patterson's reasons for driving the Indians away than were given to me at that time, and his account makes the conduct of Patterson appear in a worse light. I quote that portion

of this letter: "The Indians wanted to trade ducks for powder, but the doctor and his party were afraid to let the Indians camp near them, so they pointed their guns at them, and the Indians ran. Then Dr. P. and party fired their guns over the fleeing Indians' heads and pursued them on horseback to see how fast the Indians could run. It was the cause of Black's death and the whole trouble with the Bannock tribe of Indians that year." As the Indians are very good judges as to the meaning of human actions, presumably they did not believe that Patterson intended to shoot them, but what he did was a most dastardly insult which a white man would have considered just cause for war. Thereafter the emigrants had a running fight for a hundred miles along that portion of Snake River. My father, Dr. Benjamin Davenport, and Dr. Hutton examined Mr. Black and decided that if he could be at rest or carried on a litter there was good prospect of recovery. But people were panicky and wanted to get out of the Indian country as soon as possible. The wounded man was placed upon a bed made by weaving a rope through holes along the upper edge of a wagon bed and carried in this way until he died. That he lived for seventeen days, jolted ten or twelve hours a day on rough and rocky roads, would seem to prove that the doctors were correct in their prognosis.

Thousands of provocatives on both sides have never been recorded, and the order of their occurrence, especially with reference to priority, is wholly unknown; sometimes from one side and sometimes from the other a single exhibition of brute force, an invasion of human rights from an untraceable source, being sufficient to bring on a collision between two races mutually distrustful and apprehensive of destructive assault. But along with such forbidding features, stand out in bold relief instances of sympathy and fraternity coming from both races that should redeem even the Indian from the general charge of unmitigated barbarism. Among our own people there is a small class whom we may call philanthropists, ever contending that the white man is the active and needless

aggressor, and that to restrain him is the rational and sure way to preserve the peace. They forget or do not properly weigh the fact that the Indian tribes, before civilization pressed them, were, with slight intermission, in continual warfare with each other, and that such a school is not promotive of an active and predominant state of the moral sentiments. That a hand to hand conflict, such as must have been with the weapons then used, wherein the destroying passions were at the highest tension, did not blot out the kindly qualities of their nature, should be taken as proof that they are good subjects upon which to try the civilizing experiments. In the year 1846 some of the immigrants to Oregon were diverted to the southern route, passing through Rogue River Valley, and from want of water and grass while travelling through an unexplored region on the east side of the Cascade Mountains, were brought to extreme destitution. Some of them died, more were so reduced in strength from excessive toil and privation as to be barely able to walk. In this condition my father's cousin, David Colver, of the Waldo Hills, Oregon, fell into Rogue River and though he held to an overhanging bush he was unable to extricate himself. The water was cold, his hold upon the bush was gradually loosening, when he was espied by an Indian and rescued from his perilous position. The Indian conducted him to his wigwam, warmed, dried and fed him, and, thus reclaimed to the living, piloted him several miles on his way to the Willamette Valley. Even at this time the whites were treating the Rogue River Indians as enemies. Was that a foolish Indian or one of the good Samaritan breed? I learned from others who came that way that they too were befriended.

When our train arrived at Fort Laramie in the fore part of June, 1851, thousands of Sioux Indians were scattered for miles around the fort. There was no alternative but to camp among them and evidently futile to try to guard our stock, so we turned loose our cattle and horses, went to bed and trusted to Providence to find them in the morning. Not a hoof was missing or strayed and the explanation for such an

unexpected result was somewhat varied; some attributing it to the proximity of the fort which contained a company of U. S. Cavalry; others to the fraternal treatment of the Indians who visited us at camp. The chief came to our tent, was invited to supper by my father, partook heartily of doughnuts and coffee with sugar and cream, conversed as well as he could by means of a few words of English and his native pantomime, at which he was an adept, and with many handshakes departed at a late hour, no doubt well pleased with his reception. A short distance away was another camp of emigrants who, with one exception, extended the hand of friendship to the red brothers. This man motioned them away, evinced by scowls and other signs that their company was not wanted and they complied with his wishes. Next morning his family alone had cause to lament his want of hospitality. A thief in the night time had stolen their entire outfit of cooking utensils. His suspicions were no doubt correct, that Indians had done it, and possibly they would have taken his cattle also if they could have identified them. Sometimes it is bad policy to spurn even a worm. From such instances as are of historical record and others handed along from sire to son, we must conclude that there is far greater difference in individuals of the aboriginal type than of other peoples, or else that the character of the typical Indian as given by historians is of very doubtful accuracy. If there is one quality accredited to the Indian upon which writers oftener agree it is treachery, a term which may be indicative of good or bad disposition, depending wholly upon circumstances. No sensible person, well informed upon legal matters, attaches any importance or binding obligation to a bargain or treaty made under duress, or when one of the parties to it is not free to express his wishes or interests, or is seduced by false promises, but that is the kind of treaty we have been making with the Indians, with slight exceptions, ever since the discovery by Columbus. In a proper and legal sense they were not treaties but impositions to be protested whenever favorable opportunity arrived. That the Indians have been faithless to them



in several instances may be termed treachery by us, but when we take time to think of the whole subject-matter, he rather rises in our estimation as a good specimen of the Patrick Henry sort who prefers death to a loss of liberty. If we are to credit history, the treaty made by William Penn and the Indians was genuine and faithfully observed by both contracting parties.

We are so unaccustomed to the observance of the Golden Rule by putting ourselves in others' places long enough to get a proper understanding of their relation to nature and its facts, that we are altogether unacquainted with how the Indian feels or how we would feel when being called upon by an alien to leave the land of our birth and inheritance through unknown generations; to tear the heart strings loose from all that humanity holds dear and sacred and emigrate to a region where the problem of life must begin anew. Some of these demands, especially in their execution, have been most heartless and cruel, but in the main the government has executed such decrees of fate in a spirit of true philanthropy. Most bloody and bitter has been the red man's answer to some of these demands. Captain Jack and his little remnant of Modocs could not understand why the great and powerful white race that had usurped the whole country could not let them remain upon Lost River, their ancestral home. They wanted to reason the case but the white man would not reason. In fact there was no reason, other than the fact of civilization, and this to the barbarians was an enigma. Is it strange that they lapsed into a destructive frenzy, blind to consequences?

All that Chief Joseph the Nez Perce wanted was to be let alone in his home, the little, lovely, out-of-the-way Wallowa Valley. But no—reason that led towards equal rights for him and his people did not apply. Unlike Captain Jack, he did not fall into a frenzy, but he towered with splendid resolution and gave the white man battle according to the civilized code of warfare. Neither reason nor force could rescue him from the grip of fate; he lost both his country and his freedom, and now, an old man, is looked upon by his con-

querors as a hero worthy of a better cause. Very likely he knew that he would be beaten, but the habit and inspiration of freedom defies consequences and puts the human soul at one with the universe.

A great council was held in the Walla Walla Valley in May, 1855, at which were gathered all the principal tribes of Eastern Oregon and Washington, the federal government being represented by two very able men, Governor Isaac I. Stevens and Joel Palmer, Commissioner from Oregon. As usual there was "a feast of fat things full of marrow," which no doubt helped to smoothe the way to an amicable understanding which came late and after many hindrances and was made possible by the steadfast purpose of Young Lawyer, chief of the Nez Perces, the mild and conciliatory spirit of old Stickas of the Cayuses, and the wisdom of the aforementioned agents of the government. Old Kamiakin of the Yakimas, Peu-peu-mox-mox of the Umatillas and Walla Wallas, and Ow-hi, a young chief of the Cayuses, correctly apprehending the seductive effects of a feast, refused to eat or smoke at the white man's expense. But they were in the minority and tacitly but grudgingly assented to what was done by the others. A reservation was set off for the Nez Perces in their own country; the Yakimas in their; the Spokane and Pend d'Oreilles on part of the vast region they were in the habit of roaming over; and the Umatillas, Walla Wallas, and Cayuses were permitted to remain in their own country subject to largely reduced boundaries. Governor Stevens at first proposed a reservation of three million acres on the Clear Water and Salmon rivers, for the three latter tribes, but they objected so unanimously and strenuously that the Governor by the advice of Palmer withdrew the proposition and the Upper Umatilla country continued to be their home. At that council Governor Stevens came nearer stating the question at issue between the races, in a form comprehensible to untaught natures, than any I have seen recorded. Probably his language is not preserved but the ideas he sought to impress upon those people are fundamental and essential to a voluntary

acquiescence in the march of civilization. The Indians said, in substance, "This is our country and we have a right to do as we please with our country. We do not invade the white man's country, but he comes and takes ours and demands that we shall live as he does. We answer him, No, No. Let him stay in his own country and leave us to do as we please." A historian writes that "Stevens felt fully that here was the crisis but it could not be explained to the Indians.\* They held a view irreconcilable with the new conditions. He desired them to understand that the Americans were willing to give them the same, or even better opportunity than their own people, but the country could not be closed to settlement. He had not, neither had the government itself, the power to check the American settlement of the country. His measures were as a protection to the Indians." There is other evidence that he told them more upon the same subject; that the large region they had been living in could not be kept as a game preserve for any people, that it must be cultivated and afford a living for more people than could get a living on it by hunting and fishing, and as they were not accustomed to agriculture the government would help them to begin and send white men to teach them, which is more than is done for white men. The Governor seemed to be doubtful as to their ability to understand, but I think he was unduly faithless. *Peu-peu-mox-mox* saw a difference between goods and the earth. He said, "Good and the earth are not equal. Goods are for using on the earth." Evidently he had a vague perception that the earth is the primal source of all goods, which is a platitude among political economists. The Governor made a good beginning and should have gone into details and a rationale of the movement he was inaugurating, for such would have been more easily comprehended than generalities. A dull Indian

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\*Learning that Governor Stevens' son Hazard had written a life of his father, I sent him a copy of this page relating to the big council, and the Oregon historian's account of it, to which the biographer replied that his father explained everything fully to the Indians and had no doubt as to their understanding of the situation.—T. W. D.

can be made to understand the immense advantage a tiller of the soil has over a hunter, if his mind be directed to a comparison of the rewards of the two modes of life. Merely saying to an Indian or a white man that the two modes are antagonistic is not enough; we must descend to particulars and bring it home to them practically. Such was my course at the Umatilla, as before related, and those who attended my lectures were asked to compute the difference from their own experience. I was satisfied that they appreciated the advantages to be derived from their situation, for they began in early spring to use all the facilities the government afforded them for raising crops of wheat, oats, potatoes and other edible roots, something which, with few exceptions, they had never done in all their long dwelling in that ideal farming country—the Umatilla Valley.

After I left the agency, which was about the first of July, 1863, a change of program must have taken place on the reservation, for a large company of Indians, reported to be two hundred, went over to the Grande Ronde Valley where I was surveying the first of August, to see me and get some assistance in redressing some grievances they had experienced under the new management. Of their visit and the purpose of it I was informed by Green Arnold, a former resident on the Umatilla, besides several other citizens of La Grande. Being out in the mountains at that time, I did not see them and never learned as to the precise nature of their complaint, but I requested Mr. Arnold to inform them that I could do nothing for them, except to get them and myself into trouble with the agency authority, and my advice was to go back, squat upon a piece of land and make a home there. Up to this time the Indians on the Umatilla had been opposed to the allotment of lands in severalty, but as I have stated in another place, as soon as their eyes were opened to their true interests they were anxious to have their lands surveyed and lots distributed. I surveyed three ten-acre lots, but from the fact that they could not be assured possession of them they

very properly concluded to wait for the action of the government.

There was another reason which had operated against an allotment and that was the opposition of the owners of large bands of horses, who were interested in free range on many thousand acres of land, which they could not expect to get in any governmental scheme of allotment. As heretofore stated, Howlish Wampo had 800 head, Tin-tin-meet-suh had 4000, and these men would exert all their influence to postpone the time when they could have only 160 acres each. There was still another reason that operated upon all, poor and rich, horse owner and horseless alike, viz.: that expansive feeling we call freedom which resists the lets and hindrances of limited areas and among the aborigines everywhere in America finds expression in opposing the private ownership of land. Likely the poorest breech-clouted Indian felt, while sauntering aimlessly about on that great reservation, that it was God's free gift to him and that he could camp anywhere upon it, by its mountain springs and meadows, in its pleasant groves or on its grassy undulating plains, without feeling himself a trespasser or hearing the warning "keep off the grass." That feeling that the earth is the equal birthright of all the living is not confined to any tribe or race or time; it crops out all the time and everywhere, notwithstanding the edicts of despots or the equally despotic enactments of popular assemblies. And who can tell, even with the help of statistical tables relating to nations in varying degrees of civilization, how much the death rate is affected by the suppression of this innate aspiration and habit of freedom?

The common opinion that the Indian cannot bear civilization because it denies to him the rude and merely animal excitements which are the constituents of barbarism, that in fact he is as much out of place as an ichthyosaurian of the once torrid seas would be in the cooler waters of the present ocean, and is therefore a vanishing product of evolution, when examined critically, is found to be wide of the truth. Evi-



dently the Esquimaux cannot survive at the equator any more than the negro can live near the poles, but that both states have been derived progressively from the same source is not denied. We are too much inclined to reckless generalizing with the Indian, who is not like the Saurians that perished from a change of physical environment. On the contrary, the present physical conditions are favorable to his continuance and the excitements that kept his faculties in healthy exercise in his tribal state can be found with slight modification among civilized people. That part of civilization which is poison to him is equally poisonous to the white man and is found in the abuses of civilization. He has been compelled to bear the diseases and abuses which the white man brought, without the curative relief which is the resource of the white man. To be sure, we provide doctors at the call of the penned-up agency Indian when he is sick, but what kind of success should we expect from the treatment by even skilled physicians who are actuated by a laudable desire for scientific experiment and who at the same time hold the common opinion that an Indian is only good when he is dead? Perhaps it is quite within a rational judgment to say that he is treated without that attentive sympathy bestowed by the white doctor upon one of his own race, and so far as we know there is no Christian Science to lift him up from the slough of despond into which many white people drift despite the help that other science brings. We expect him to pass from the free, wild, out-of-door life of the nomad, to the in-door, artificial life of a citizen, by the influence of example, and because he does not make a success of the compulsory venture, but suffers decimation, we at once declare him unfit and a vanishing relic of a by-gone age. How we forget that such a requirement is not according to the order of nature, that no such jumping transition was ever known of any tribe or people inhabiting the earth. We did not pass from cave-dwellers to our present state except by ages of preparation and experience whereof science was born, arts multiplied and perfected, all of which

are causative accompaniments of progress. With us it was lawful evolution; in truth there was no other way, and yet we require that the Indian shall pass to our social and industrial status by remaining on the outside. How absurd and how unjust to him.

Evolution may be rapid or slow, but knowledge and adaptation are essential to it, and hence he must be taught; he must have access to the white man's accumulations. If he live in houses and have artificially prepared food, he must have a knowledge of hygienic laws in order to survive, and it was the first duty of the government when it compelled him to abandon his aboriginal mode of life to induct him by the natural entryway to the higher type of existence. Let us say that the reservation system was in that direction, but it was in practice only a half-hearted experiment, for in carrying out the design, it was entrusted to its enemies. Was it ever known in the United States that the Indian Department instructed its agents to see that Indians' houses be constructed in conformity with sanitary requirements? Instead, they are the merest dens, unfitted for human habitations; real pest houses in which no race, civilized or savage, could long tarry.

Look at the other side a moment. Our libraries are plethoric of books upon physiology, hygiene, housebuilding, domestic sanitation, etc., and yet the people who have access to them employ architects to plan and mechanics to construct their dwellings, and after that, if living in cities, they are under supervision of health boards and compelled to habits of cleanliness promotive of their own and the public welfare.

From this cursory and incomplete view of the subject, any one can see with half an eye that the Indian, in the vernacular of the street, "is not in it"; he is not involved with the civilizing processes and until he is there is no progress for him. To expect more is to be disappointed, for it is an expectation that could not be realized with any race. Booker T. Washington understands the problem and is solving it every day.

The government is doing the work at Chemawa, provided the Indians there educated become like the negro Washington, teachers of their people, instead of doing as nearly all have done, becoming mere parasites in the outskirts and slums of civilization.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HALL J. KELLEY.

By F. W. POWELL.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—Mr. F. W. Powell, who submits the following tentative bibliography of Hall J. Kelley, is engaged in an investigation of Kelley's place in Oregon history. These lists are printed with the view of attracting the attention of those who have been interested in the unique role of Kelley in promoting the occupation and colonization of the Oregon Country, and who can be of assistance in bringing out the whole truth of history on this subject. Mr. Powell is anxious to have his lists supplemented and corrected. It will be remembered that Professor E. G. Bourne, of Yale University, has challenged the view that had quite universally prevailed, giving Kelley the position of primacy in appreciating the importance of the Oregon Country and in leading the movement for its occupation. Professor Bourne is inclined to award that honor to Dr. John Floyd, of Virginia, and believes that Kelley was initially and largely inspired through the reports and speeches of Floyd in Congress. (See *Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 260-266.) Whatever may be the conclusion reached on this issue—and the cause promoted by them merits a meed of glory enough for both—the readers of *The Quarterly* will follow with keen interest this undertaking of Mr. Powell's to present an adequate statement of Kelley's place in Oregon history.

This list of titles by and about Kelley constitutes a working bibliography, hence there need be no apology for the fact that it contains several relatively unimportant items. In cases where a book has not been found, a note to that effect appears, together with a reference to the source of information. Where the exact wording of a title has not been obtained, the approximate title is quoted from the reference. The writings of Kelley are now rare, and widely scattered. The places where they are to be found are indicated by the catchwords in the names of the following libraries: American Antiquarian Society, Amherst College, Boston Athenæum, Boston Public, City Library Association of Springfield (Mass.), Columbia University, Harvard University, Library Company of Philadelphia, Library of Congress, New York Public, New York State, Palmer (Mass.) Historical Society, Peabody Institute, State Historical Society of Pennsylvania, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, State Library of Massachusetts, Worcester Free Public, Young Men's Library Association of

Palmer (Mass.) The word "Bancroft" refers to the bibliographical lists in the Bancroft histories.

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[Caption title:] Supplement to the Narrative of Events and Difficulties in the Colonization of Oregon. \* \* \* "Petition of Hall J. Kelley, praying for a grant of land, or donation of money." \* \* \* 7 p. Amherst, Bost. Pub. Springfield, Harvard, Philadelphia, Congress, N. Y. Pub. Palmer Hist.

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FRED WILBUR POWELL.

30 Broad Street, New York.



## DIARY OF ASAHEL MUNGER AND WIFE.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—The Reverend J. S. Griffin and wife, and Asahel Munger and wife, were fitted out for missionary work among the Oregon Indians by a Congregationalist Association of North Litchfield, Connecticut. It appears that they started directly from Oberlin, Ohio. Mr. Griffin was then a single man, but met the future Mrs. Griffin on his way through Missouri and married her on a very brief acquaintance.

The Griffins wintered at Lapwai and the Mungers at Waiilatpu. In the spring of 1840 Mr. Griffin attempted to establish an independent mission in the upper Snake River country but failed. He later settled on the Tualatin plains and was for a time an editor and always a leader of radical movements. Mr. Munger and wife remained at Dr. Whitman's until May, 1841, when he showed signs of mental derangement. He had made himself useful to the mission as a carpenter, but Dr. Whitman, fearing the effect of his affliction upon the Indians, suggested the idea of his returning to the States. Not making connections at Green River with the returning party of the American Fur Company, the Mungers came back and he was employed for a time by the mission at Salem. His malady became worse and he committed suicide.

The narrative of his journey is valuable in the clearness and explicitness with which the incidents are detailed. The situation of the Mungers at Fort Hall, where they would have been stranded had it not been for the whole-souled generosity of Mr. Frank Ermatinger of the Hudson Bay Company, is worth having an account of at first hand. See *Lee and Frost's Oregon*, p. 211; *Gray's History of Oregon*, pp. 185-192; *Bancroft's Oregon*, Vol. I, pp. 237-240.

Dear Mother,

Through the kind providence of God we have safely arrived in Oregon, at Fort Walla Walla, after a long and tedious journey. We are well, and comfortably situated for the winter, and now, according to what you are expecting, I send you our journal.

Saturday, May 4th, 1839—This day after finishing all our arrangements we started from the States, from our country; went about 3 hours to Saplin[g] grove—a place where the company camp for the first time—camped about 5 o'clock. Sab. 5th—Started this morning about 7—traveled to the head of Grand river. Had some trouble about packs, spent the Sabbath as I never did before, found good grass and water, though the water was standing.

Mon. 6th—Traveled to the Wacarusia [Wakarusa] river, we passed as beautiful prairies as I ever saw in my life—found a pleasant stream.

8th Wednes.—After traveling Tuesday and part of today we came in sight of the Conzas [Kansas] village, camped within 2½ miles of it. This village is a cluster of mud houses, built round, running up to a point leaving a place for the smoke to go out.

- 9th Thursday—Exchanged 3 horses and obtained two horses and two mules of Brother Johnson who has the care of the Methodist mission at this place. He gave us a good bargain in the horses, and they gave us many things which we needed for the journey.
- 10th Brother & Sister went to the mission today (Friday.) Saturday—Started this morning at 9—to cross the Conzas river—carried our effects across in a canoe, and drove the horses across through the water—packed and drove on 3 hours and camped.
- 12 Sab.—Moved on as usual, camped on the Black Vermillion river.
- 13 Monday—Saturday night for the first time we had a guard to watch our horses; our encampment formed a square leaving room enough for our horses in the center to be fastened where they could eat all night.
- 14 Every man bears his part watching. Tues.—Started early this morning—drove 3 or 4 hours and camped for the night, camped on a beautiful stream. Mr. Richardson<sup>1</sup> (our hunter) shot 7 large fish that would weigh 2 or 3 lbs each. Wed.—Marched about 7 hours—crossed Rush Creek and camped. One man in crossing without directions, ran into deep water—swam his horse—wet all his packs. Mr. Richardson shot an Elk—a doe—good meat—supplied all the camp with fresh meat.
- 16 Thursday, 16th—Drove about 5 hours and stopped to rest. After a part of the company had started, one of the horses took fright and ran away—strewed his load all over the plain and finally ran off and was lost. In running about and dragging a traveling bag at the end of a long rope he frightened one of our horses and he ran away—threw off his pack and bruised some of our tins—only drove about one hour—camped for the night—Frid.—passed [sic] a place today where it appeared six men had encamped a short time since. Found a beautiful place for encamping—steep bank on two sides—pleasant stream. Eliza's health not as good as usual—though she has endured the journey much better than we could have expected—The horse she rides is not an easy traveler. Sat.—Drove about 7 or 8 hours—camped this evening on a more beautiful place than we ever have found for our encampment. A beautiful level green—good grass—beautiful stream of water, gravel bottom swift current—land about us is prairie [sic] no timber except along the stream—found gooseberries twice since we started. Sab.—This morning E. rose early and prepared breakfast as usual—I slept later on account of having watched last night. I am not very well myself—E. tired out—rode 18 or 19 miles without stopping. One of the company shot an Antelope—which is a species of Deer—very good meat—E. so much exhausted that she could not take her supper with us—though after

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Richardson, mountain man, who was prominent in conducting parties between Missouri frontier and the rendezvous. He had accompanied Wyeth on his first expedition.

resting awhile she could eat. We now can see the need of a Sabbath—a day of rest for ourselves and our animals. Oh that we may again enjoy the Sabbath, I feel that Jesus is precious to my soul. I love Him and wish to do his will, even if I suffer wrongfully. He knows our hearts, and I rejoice that he does.—Camped on Blue river.

20 Mon.—to Thurs.—met 5 Delaware Indians Tuesday who had been out trapping. They were very friendly—one of them was acquainted with Mr. Harris who is the principal man of the American Fur Company with whom we are traveling. This Indian had shot an Elk just before we came in sight, and only taken his tongue, he went with us to show us where it was—our Co—took the whole which supplied us well with fresh meat. Mr. Harris gave him some bacon. Thurs—Evening the Storm came up from two directions—clouds above appeared to move in the opposite direction from those below, after sunset it commenced raining and blowing, most of the tents were blown down. I stood outside of our tent and held it by the help of E. & Mrs. G. who were inside holding with all their might. Storm continued about an hour.

May 24th Friday.—We did not sleep much last night. E none at all—set  
25 [sic] up all night. Sat. appearance of rain this morning—traveled two hours and camped. We are now past timber—have to depend upon  
26 flood wood and little willows for our fuel. Sab.—No Sabbath—  
27 started early this morning, cold riding—Monday started early—traveled about 10 hours in hopes of reaching a cluster of timber, but  
28 stopped 3 miles short—Tues.—Started about 7 this morning, came within a mile of Bradies grave (a man that was murdered some years since) and camped. We have been short for game a few days, though  
29 plenty to be seen.—Wed.—Today we came in sight of Buffalo in large bands. Our Co.—killed 15 or 16 to day, though perhaps not the weight of two of them was brought into the camp—traveled all the afternoon in sight of them—we came near to some the largest appear  
30 terrific—noble animals—not easily frightened. Wolves can pass through their bands and hardly be noticed or molested. We have been finding less and less grass and vegetation of all kinds, have frequently found prickly pears—yesterday found one of another kind which is frequently eaten—camped 7 or 8 miles below the place where we expect to cross the Platt[e] river. This has been a day of slaughter among buffalo, and most of the meat left to waste, one man killed a veal—we rec'd a part of it.—Thurs.—had veal for break-  
31 fast—grass short, eaten down by Buffalo. Had a good nights rest. Buffalo determined to come down to the water—drove them back for fear they would frighten our horses.—Frid.—Moved on to the Forks of the Platt, to the usual crossing place—found the water too deep to ford—pitched our tents and commenced making preparations for

building our boat—Several hunters went out for skins to build it of—it requires 4 large skins to make one large enough. Mr. Richardson saw several Indians feared he should be molested by them and returned. We soon discovered a very large encampment of them, but a short distance from us on the opposite side of the river—about the same time they saw us, and sent out 2 or 3 as spies—or rather to show themselves to us. Mr. Harris ordered a flag raised. No sooner was this done than understood by the natives. They returned immediately, in haste, and in less than hour 25 came down to the opposite side of the river, and discharged their guns as a token of friendship. These were warriors under the direction of the chief of one of the bands. They all waded the river a little above us, put on their clothes, and came down to us in a platoon with their chief in the middle—came within 20 steps and halted until Mr. Harris went out to meet them. They soon exhibited the letters they had from various men of business whom they had seen—we found there were 3 bands of Sous [Sioux] in one village—and another band called the Shians [Cheyennes]—The Ogolallas Tetons & Broken arrows as Sous. The chiefs of all these bands have called on us today with their warriors one after another. To each of these companies a present was given and a dinner. Tire-some visiting without an interpreter. The Ogolala chief offered us a guard to watch our horses if we wanted to keep the Indians from stealing them.

- June 1—Sat. Not molested at all by the Indians. The Ogolala chief, his  
 2 wife, 3 sons and brother stay in camp this night.—Sabbath—Last night about 11 oc a dreadful howling commenced among the Indians and dogs—this they kept up by intervals most of the night. In the morning they commenced moving and before noon were all out of sight. There were about 380 lodges and probably between 2 and 3 thousand people. Today we had a Sabbath of rest in consequence of the Alcohol which the Fur Company were carrying to the mountains. This they had buried for fear of the Indians, and were under necessity of waiting until they were out of sight to take it up. Those Indians who were poor used their dogs instead of pack horses. They pack them heavy. When they catch them for harnessing, they howl most bitterly, many of them get very sore by carrying their loads.—  
 3 Monday—This morning 4 men took our boat and went up the river the south branch of the Platt. It was not considered safe to go up the north branch (though we had designed to do so) on account of the Indians, as they [had] only gone 3 or 4 miles from their first  
 4 encampment. Moved camp about 3 hours and camped.—Tues.—crossed the river this day. Horses waded and swam. In riding across on horseback myself my saddle girth broke and let me into the river, but providentially the water was shallow in that place—we were under



the necessity of wading the river and leading our boat. The current was swift, and the bottom quick sand, it was very hard work. The river here was quite wide, moved on about 12 miles and camped.

5 Wednes.—moved onward up the South fork, camped at the tree, as it is called, where there is but one tree in sight, that can be seen at

6 a great distance.—Thursday—Started across the prairies for the North fork of the Platt, camped within 3 or 4 miles of it near the head of Ash creek—had a heavy storm. Seven or 8 of our horses ran away, all found before night, nothing lost, found wood by going a mile and carried it on our backs—glad of it at that.—Frid.—moved on toward the

7 river but for want of a good place to descend the hill, or bluff, as it is called, we traveled most of the forenoon on the high lands—descended found wood and grass in abundance on the Platt river. Sat.—our

8 movements today were slow—2 Indians came across the river into camp—two others remained on the other side of the river, soon the 2 returned, and the 4 came over and remained through the night.

9 Sab.—Before noon we came in sight of the chimney, as it is called. This is a gloomy Sabbath only for the presence of Jesus.—

10 Mon.—My prayer is this morning. Oh Lord honor thyself in me and our little company may all have the spirit of meekness that is in thyself, and be willing to follow Thee. We are now on the south side of the north branch of the Platt—an immense prairie on both sides of it—but little wood, and that principally flood wood—we have been under the necessity of using Buffalo dung for fuel. Yesterday we passed a gang of Buffalo, they were on the opposite side of the river, one went across to kill. But our camp came up, and gave the band our wind (as it is called) they all started and ran off. The[y] smell the scent of man for miles—when they do, they are sure to run, though a man can get the other side of the band from the wind—stoop like an animal, and get very near them. It is just if we should suffer for want of Buffalo meat enough have been slaughtered to last us to the mountains, & hardly a week's provision for the camp saved—Traveled all day in sight of the Chimney—Stop[p]ed about noon nearly opposite to it. Above this spar of hard earth or rock there appeared one of the grandest scenes I ever beheld. About 7 or 8 miles from us is what is called Scotch [Scott's] bluff, it looks like an old castle with a rounding top, back from this from the river there are several others similar in line like a number of very large buildings. From them there was a towering bluff with here and there a cluster of black cedar shrubs, here and there a plat of grass interspersed with spots of naked earth which resembled rocks towering high. Then on our left the chimney and its rounding base, and towering hills back of it—Then to look upon the beautiful green of 6 or 7 miles long and nearly as wide which was rolling presented a scenery which



to my mind was truly grand—such as I never saw before—went but a little way this afternoon on account of rain. We are hurrying on June 11 for fear of the Shians that they will come and overtake us.—Rained most of the night—rested well last night, though I have been quite 12, 13 exhausted for several days. Wednes. noon at the spring after a long ride. Thurs. came down to the Platt or near it, but in consequence of the rain a small stream was so high that we were obliged to camp 14 in a very muddy place.—Frid.—Came to Larimer's [Laramie] Fort about 11 o'clock, forded the river and camped on the flat between the river and the Fort remained through the day. There were 10 men at the fort. 3 of these men had Indian wives—they appeared well—one could speak some English. E. received a present of a pair of mocasons. E. made her a present in return. After she had given them she went home and got a new pair, because she had worn the others. These were made very nice. They furnished us with milk while there—we bought salt of them for 50 cts for a pint cup full—bought 3 cups 15 full.—Sat. started early this morning—went only about 12 miles to a warm spring which boils out of the bottom of a great hill—and yet is warm winter and summer. Camped here for the night on account 16 of rain.—Sabbath. a dreary day. oh how we need a Sabbath, our hunters went out to kill game, slaughtered 2 Buffalo and one Elk, either of which had more meat than was consumed. The trust of my soul is in God. I will lean on Him. It is good to get near Him in time of trouble—found an excellent plat of grass for camping.— 17 Mon. moved on slowly today on account of hills—Snow to be seen on the top of a high hill, when the sun is beating down upon us quite hard. Camped early for want of water.—Tues. Hilly ground only 18 traveled a short distance. Stopped at a pleasant stream which was very refreshing. E. almost sick for want of light bread. Mr. G. is not willing to have it made. I have looked to God in this case, my soul is troubled. Oh how good [to] trust in Jesus—He is near according to 19 his holy promise.—Wednes.—camped back from the river 14 Indians came into camp this morning, swam the river—said they were Shians—This day hilly ground producing a little grass, and sage, a kind of shrub which tastes like wormwood, and looks like it only larger. Camped on the Platt a pleasant place. Mr. Johnson came near 20 drowning in attempting to swim the river while bathing—providentially struck a sand bar and waded out.—Thursday—made a good march this day 3 o'clock P. M. then ascended a hill and wandered around over hill and valley until half past 6—and only two or three miles ahead to get round a ravine. Crossed a little stream of water and camped on its bank. One of the company went out when our camp was full of meat, several Buffalo having been killed, and most of it left to waste, and shot a large Buffalo because he could. The noble

animal was feeding in good grass, taking his comfort when his enemy must commence murdering him—shot him 17 or 18 times before he fell—took perhaps his tongue and left the remainder to be devoured by wolves which preyed upon him all night. There is a shrub here called grease wood which is saltish. We are now at the point where we cross the Platt, arrived here at 12 o'clock—commenced building two boats. These boats are made of poles tied together, and covered with Buffalo skins. Grass for our horses not as good as we have found. The rain has fallen in such torrents that it has literally washed away the soil from large portions of this country; so that it is left a complete barren waste. not only the surface but hundreds of feet in depth seems to have been washed away over what is now the surface—over thousands of acres of land over which we have passed which has only left here and there a towering bluff that is so hard the water does not affect it.—Sat.—Boats completed by about noon—  
 22 all crossed river safely by 5 o'clock. The water here is deep—rowed our boats—packed up—went about 3 miles and camped for the night.—  
 23 Sab.—Traveled up the Platt until noon—then left it and bore away a northwest direction towards the Sweet water river a branch of the Platt. I feel as usual the need of a Sabbath, but Jesus is a precious Savior to me. I rejoice in him, oh let my soul meekly yield to him  
 24 in all things.—Monday—camped last night after a long and tedious day on a dry stream—had to dig for water, and that too within a mile of a spring of clear water.—Moved on fast this forenoon 15 or 16 miles without stopping—traveled most of the time in sight of Buffalo. On our left for several days has been one of the Black Hills so called because of the shrub cedars that cover its surface and give it a black appearance. Camped at a beautiful spring of cool water—found gooseberries—most of the way we have had rain—now expect cool air and frosty nights.—

June 25th Tues.—Hard frost last night—found good grass—this forenoon have traveled in sight of towering broken ragged mountains, saw a mountain covered with snow. Came this evening to the rock Independence. This is the point where we struck the sweet water—a small river—branch of the Platt. 14 miles above its junction. This rock is called Independence from the fact that in 1830 the American Fur Co. spent the 4th of July here and celebrated the day. It is a long oblong rock covering perhaps 3 or 4 acres of ground. Many have enscribed their names upon it. Wednes. Left the rock early and traveled up the Sweet water. We can see the snow upon the mountains on our left very clearly. we are now rising the Rocky Mountains gradually—that great chain that separates the waters flowing to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. We know we are rising only from the facts, that we are and have been traveling by the side of rapid streams over

- since we left the States—the snow discoverable on the mountains at so small a distance above the level on which we travel, while we are warm—And the coolness of the Atmosphere—are the only evidences I can discover of our ascending the mountains—There are high hills on our right and left, more particularly on our left. Are now looking for white men to meet us from rendezvous.—Thurs. we had a pleasant encampment last night. Had for our supper a roast rib, and now I will tell you where we found it. It was taken from the upper side of the back bone of a Buffalo cow. This is called the hump rib. These ribs extend from before the fore shoulder back about two feet and a half, and run up from the back bone from one and a half to two feet high. This is covered with a kind of meat which is very good. About 10 o'clock this morning we saw for the first time the wind river mountains which are the highest range of mountains, from the vicinity of which, waters run East and west. It is covered with snow—we are several days travel from them. Camped on the sweet water about 4 o'clock rather than travel late to another encamping place. All tolerably well—enured considerably to our way of living. Friday—Traveled only 8 miles and stopped about 10 o. c. after noon traveled a long distance without water—passed a small pond of salt water, saw a large number of Buffalo, at one time were in sight of perhaps 1500—one drove of them were started by some of the hunters, they bent their course towards the river full chase, our company were between them and the river—They came very near running through or among our horses—or so near as to set our horses running. They looked very wild. This is much to be feared, as horses frequently when frightened by them take after them and are never found. Camped on Sweet water. Traveled most of the day in sight of the Wind river mountains. They present a most splendid and beautiful appearance—Its high peaks, and the whole covered with snow reflecting the light from the sun, and rising so high as hardly to be distinguished from the white clouds above them, present a grand scenery. Had a blessed season of prayer alone. God was there.—Sat.—this morning traveled until about 10, stopp'd to rest on Sweet Water. Soon after 12 we moved on through hills and vallies until 5 to a spring. My prayer is this day—Oh Lord do thy holy will with us, I desire nothing more than that we may be holy in heart, and pure in all our actions & thoughts.—E not very well today—her food distresses her.—Sab. This day I have had precious communion with God—we traveled as usual.
- July 1 E. had hard head ache. Camped again on Sweet Water. This morning some frightened by two Indian dogs which came into camp—found Indians were nigh. Crossed Sweet Water twice halted to rest. E. ate nothing this morning—at noon some better—head aches yet. After noon had a long march to a spring 6½ hours. E. & myself

- stopped once and turned a little to the right and took a drink of water from the river, that descends to the States, for the last time—Today on the height of ground could see the valley of the Green river which descends to the Pacific, and the Sweet water which descends to the States could see on our right more clearly the wind river mountains & on our left at the distance of at least 40 or 50 miles piles of mountains covered with perpetual snow. Camped at a spring after apprehensions of not being able to find water.—Tues. from the spring we passed on towards Sandy River—moved on to Little Sandy, and after a long march, camped on big Sandy—pure snow water from the mountains. These streams are branches of Green river.
- 2 July 3 Wed.—mountains in sight and covered with snow most of the time. This is melting and running down in these streams, so that the water is cold soft and good. Camped on big Sandy. Thurs. at half past 10 today we halted to remain until we should hear from Mr. Dripse's camp (who is at the head of the American Fur Company) Soon he appeared himself and Capt. Walker<sup>1</sup> with him, to the joy of all the camp. He brought us cheering news. Mr. Ermitinger [Ermatinger], one of the head men of the Hudson Bay Company came over with 8 men and a company of Indians to rendezvous, who was expecting to accompany missionaries if any should come over. They expected to meet Mr. Lee and his company here. We started about noon—
- 4 traveled fast until after 4.—Friday started soon after sunrise, and arrived at rendezvous about half past 10 o. c. Had a friendly interview with Mr. Ermitinger & Dr. Newell [Robert Newell]<sup>2</sup> one of the men employed by the American Fur Company. Saw the Indians that came up with Mr. Ermitinger all appear very friendly. The American Fur Co. have made a poor collection of furs this year—are brin[g]ing their business to a close. Sat. pleasant morning. our tent is near Mr. Ermitinger, and nearer Green river.—this is quite a stream 15 or 20 rods wide, and where we forded it midside deep to a horse. We saw the soldier—a Nezpersee [sic] Indian who has been much with the missionaries.—Sab.—Mr. G. preached today twice. he had quite a number of white men and more Indians to hear him. After meeting many got drunk. The Am Fur Company are ruining men as fast as they can with their Alcohol. Mon.—Last night Mr. Ermitinger had 2 horses stolen from him by 2 of his own men. Tues.—Last night one of the men came back for his horse he had stolen. He was not careful to secure him safely, so the horse returned home in the night—He

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<sup>1</sup> Courtney M. Walker, who was at this time in charge of Fort Hall. He had first come to Oregon with Jason Lee.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Newell, who was later prominent in affairs of early Oregon. He brought wagons to Oregon (The Dalles) in 1840.



- came boldly into camp to look for him. Mr. Ermitinger watched for him and saw him. When the man saw Mr. E. he cocked his gun to shoot him (the gun he had stolen also). He did not shoot but turned and ran off. This is a specimen of similar occurrences which are quite common in the mountains at this time. The men are most of them out of business and know not what to do. Bought meat today
- 10 called jurk [jerked]. Wed. Today we start for fort Hall—drove only 3 hours, camped on account of Mr. Ermitinger. The scene we have left is really distressing. Those poor mountain men are receiving payment for labor in alcohol at an enormous price. These men must now scatter off, with their little tobacco and coffee & the like things which were the principal commodities except alcohol which were brought up this year from the States for the men, and seek a home and employment where they can. many of them are so poor they cannot go down to the States—what to do they know not.—
- July 11 Thurs.—Today we moved on rapidly—fast enough to injure our pack horses—hard for our wives. We are now beginning to travel over hills—some high and steep, narrow trails or paths through shrubs and trees camped in a deep valley. I here hired a horse of an Indian to
- 12 ride to Ft. Hall.—Frid.—started early. Indians appear very friendly. Mrs. G's horse in passing a side hill which was very steep and dangerous slipped, and came near going down to the bottom of the hill, she partly fell, but her clothes caught on the horse and held her. She was very much frightened, though not injured, about 10 o'clock we passed up a very steep hill, which was very hard for our horses, and our wives as they walked up. Passed on 2 miles & camped on account of
- 13 a hail storm.—Sat.—our way today very hilly, we pass over places on side hills and among trees that appear almost impassible [sic], in some places the road is on the side hill, some 30 feet, and sometimes as high as 60 ft above the level, and on an angle of 40 to 60 degrees from a horizontal, in a narrow path where two horses could not pass with their packs, and exhibit no marks of fear, over such places we have all passed within a few days, not enough grass for our encampment, left part of our Co. a mile back. I discovered 5 or 6 Buffalo near us.
- 14 Mr. Richardson shot one.—Sab.—Traveled on, until we came to the place where the missionaries spent the Sabbath last year, and camped.
- 15 Monday—Today found our way better than we anticipated; yesterday all the Co. except myself gathered salt. It was very good—found it on the ground though very pure and clean. We camp on Bear river This river runs into the Salt lake which has no outlet. Found open level prairie today. quite cheering to find such a road after its being so hilly—have not seen any snow for several days. Straw berries
- 16 ripe, though we have not had any. Tues.—warm—pleasant road except a little side hill—made for the soda springs, arrived about 10 o'clock.



We found the waters a luxury indeed, as good soda as I ever drank boiling up out of the earth. There are several of these springs—all that we saw are sunk down a little below the surface of the earth. The mother spring of all we saw is said to be 10 or 12 feet across, and no bottom has ever yet been found. The water there is much stronger than at the springs we saw, these springs, which are called the Pots, boil up from the outlet of the mother spring which passes along under ground and runs into the river. The water is clear and has a smart taste like small beer, though it has more of the sting to it than any beer I ever drank. I drank freely of it. It had a very good effect. Below these springs is another curiosity, on the bank of Bear river is a small hole in the rock about 6 or 7 inches in diameter nearly round running down on an angle of 45 degrees back from the river, out of which there is boiling or rather foaming water about blood warm. This is thrown out at intervals of about 4 or 5 seconds—it would seem to be gasping for breath drawing in wind which makes a guggling noise when passing in, then out comes the water in a half steam form, as though mixed with gas and pressed out with tremendous force. There is another similar, though not one fourth as large, and emits but little water. This is called by mountain men—the steam engine. The whole surface of the earth about this place, and the soda springs, and finally all over this region presents every proof of having been a volcano, the lava covers the whole surface of the earth. The rocks all about have been evidently in a melted state. I took specimens of 4 different kinds some harder than others. There is a bed of white clay, about as white as our common white earthen [ware.] This is used by the Indians in all parts of the mountains for whitening skins &c. Wednesday—We left Mr. Ermitinger this morning and took another rout, for making meat last us down the Columbia river.—

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Thurs.—we traveled on in a northwardly direction toward a place called Gray's hole—This very bad killed a Buffalo, one of our horses scattered his pack containing our cooking utensiles nothing lost. camped on a small run. Tolerable good water. Some of our company are willing to stand guard—our company consists of 14 men and two women. we have 35 horses and mules.—Fri.—this morning one of our company shot a gun before it was fairly day, and halloed out like one in distress. The whole company sprang up supposing we were in danger from the Indians. This was a mischievous false alarm. We are now on the battle ground we heard of so much at home, but we lose no sleep on account of it. Had much trouble from flies. Found the horse pen Mr. Richardson built last year when making dried meat for his journey from here to Walla Walla. Saw some Buffalo, found none or killed none; in the evening Mr. R. killed 2 though they were so poor that they were not fit for eating. Sat. July 20th. Took an

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- early start—camped about noon—had a little rest. How precious to read the Holy Bible. Sab.—This day we have a Sabbath of rest. our hunters went yesterday in pursuit of game. have not yet returned. My soul trusts in God. How perfectly easy for him to bring about his own purposes, when they are directly opposed to the wishes of wicked men. It is my prayer this day that God will provide some place for us to labor, in however obscure a corner it may be—I care not—I do not look for great things—If we may be the means of enlightening a few, we will rejoice. I believe in Jesus and thank him for the many blessings of the journey thus far. I feel as though the animals we ride are God's lent us to use. I expect we shall have the use of them just as long as he sees we need. That is all I wish. I ask that I may possess the spirit of meekness, long suffering and kindness that is in Jesus Christ. With this spirit let me treat all with whom I come in contact. No sermon today—no prayers except private and family devotions.—Monday. Today our company are making meat. The hunters came in last evening. This is made by cutting into thin slices and spreading it upon a rack which is made of rods laid upon poles raised about 2 feet above the fire—There we let it dry and half roast, or heat gradually until the juice or blood is dried, then it is taken off, packed together and pressed all night. The hunters killed 5 Buffalo—one calf, and one bear. They have gone again while the rest of us dry what has been brought in. I hold in my hand a bunch of the mountain flax. This resembles eastern flax very much. Its blossom—bowl—leaf, branches of the stalk & size all compare well. But this is a perennial plant, springs every year from the same root. We are now descending the mountains towards the Pacific within 40 miles of Ft Hall—not yet molested by the Indians. Two men left us this morning for Ft. Hall. E. almost worn down with hard traveling and hard thinking.—Tues.—Lost a sack of clothing this day—in it were two pr pantaloons—1 pr. boots 1 pr shoes—5 pr mocassins—a vise vise—I did not discover it until we camped. I returned in search of it—went  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the day's journey, but could not find them. In returning home it was late before I arrived—passed in sight of the three Butes—three very high mountains covered with snow.
- 21 22th Wednesday. Mr. G. had a chase after a Buffalo in company with two others. Traveled most of the day in open plane [sic] with Snake river on our right at a distance—bore away to the left, to Blackfoot Creek & camped.—Thurs.—moved on until we came within 6 miles of Ft Hall—Found a beautiful spring of water boiling up out of the earth—There are many similar in this region.—Friday moved camp today only a mile—found good grass and water stopped here for the purpose of recruiting our horses—I made preparations and started about noon for Ft Hall. Was welcomely received by Mr. Ermitinger

- & Mr. Walker who are the principal men in charge of this Fort—  
 Found Mr. Rodgers here from the mission west of the mountains. I  
 returned a horse I received of him at Soda Springs. He would  
 receive nothing for the use of him. Mr. Rodgers went home with me  
 27 and stayed with me until this (Sat.) morning. Moved our camp  
 down about a mile below Fort Hall for fear the Blackfoot Indians  
 would steal our horses, or that the Snake or Shoshone Indians would—  
 & charge it to the Blackfeet—They never come below the Ft to steal.  
 Took Eliza and went up to the Fort and spent the afternoon. The  
 28 men were drinking very much.—Sab. This day is indeed a day of  
 rest. We are alone reading the precious Bible and other books—suffer-  
 ing our bodies and minds to rest. How blessed to ease all our cares  
 upon Jesus.

How blessed to realize the care  
 That Jesus takes of those he loves,  
 When we are tried he knows it all,  
 He listens to the heaving sigh we breathe,  
 Though silent—meets his gracious ear above  
 No angry thought no frowning look returns  
 But peace and joy poured into the troubled soul  
 Dispers the fears of those that trust in God.

- 29 Monday—This day we divided our mess, we don't know where we  
 30 shall be located. Tues.—This day I am rejoiced to spend in writing  
 home. I had written over one sheet or more in the afternoon. After  
 dark I got on a strange mule to go in search of our horses, I rode  
 about half a mile only, before she rared up, jumped, and kicked until  
 she threw me off and broke my right shoulder. Providentially there  
 was a physician in camp who set the bone free of charge. Aug. 1st,  
 1839—Thursday, I had commenced copying our journal to send to  
 Dea Goodell—had to stop on account of my shoulder. E. has hard  
 labors. Tuesday she washed and lamed her wrists—yesterday she had  
 to get her own wood, and climb a steep bank for water. It was too  
 much for her. Providentially I went out a little before night (The  
 day I was hurt) and made a bowery of willows, the sun beats down  
 2 very warm. Frid. spent most of the day writing—part of the time  
 with my left hand, though some with my lame one. it is gaining  
 finely. Sat. 3d—Today I finished copying the Journal up to this date  
 to Dea Goodell—and finished my letter to mother and gave them to  
 Mr. Richardson to forward to the States, as he with three men is to  
 start to-morrow to return. We have had the privilege of living alone  
 4, 5 nearly a week. Sab. E. & Myself spent the day alone. Mond. Mr.  
 Griffin offered to help us this morning as we were about to move up  
 near to the fort. We thought it would not be safe for us to remain

where we are since the company left. Mr. Richardson and his company started yesterday for the States, and all the remainder or other part of the company had started before for Van Cover [Vancouver], so that we are left alone—(i. e.—of the company that came from the States.) Before we were ready to start two Indians came along and helped us. They packed our horses and took great pains to assist us in everything we needed after they had unpacked, they went and halled [sic] us a load of wood fire. This evening Mr. Ermitinger came down to inquire why we were here destitute of horses—or why both claimed the same horses<sup>1</sup>—I told him the reasons—how the money we had expended had been raised—how much more had been expended than we had anticipated &c, &c. Sat. We have been kindly supplied with milk—sweet and sour, some butter, flower, sugar, &c also berries from the fort. Sabbath—This day has been rather long and lonesome to E. she thought much of home—friends—prospects—& present condition. I tried to have her get above these things. I hope she has in a measure. Mon. this morning all preparations made for a start for Walla Walla. Mr. E. furnished 5 horses which he had promised, and one for the Indian to ride who packed for us. The use of six horses gratis is no trifle for 500 miles travel, as I was leading the 5 horses over to the tent Mr. McKee told me that 3 of Mr. G's horses were gone—they had looked for them all the morning—We got started about 10 o'clock—as we were about starting a very large camp of Ponack [Bannock] Indians came up to the Fort—they are said to be very bad Indians—There have been many of the Snake or Shoushawnee [Shoshone] Indians here since we came—They are quite filthy and indolent, went about 3 hours march and camped. Tues. nothing heard of the horses—a very great loss indeed, nooned just above the falls on Snake river. This fall is 40 or 50 ft. perpendicular and very rapid fall above—falls quite uncommon in this country—rode 5 hours after noon—my arm endures the journey well—have no pain—gaining strength.—Wed. Last night I had a restless night quite unwell—kept E. awake—she arose early and got breakfast—while I slept. Mr. G. unwell also. Thurs.—started without breakfast—rode 14 hours. In thinking of our present condition by the way I rejoiced that Jesus knows our hearts, and what will be for our highest good, which is his glory. I now throw myself upon his mercy I ask him to dispose of us as he pleases—I ask his friendship. I am satisfied I sought it when contemplating this work, and the light of his countenance. I am satisfied I looked to him for direction, and he has directed us. I trust he will still direct us. I love to leave all my cares with him. My prayer is in relation to labors, that God will

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<sup>1</sup> See Bancroft's Oregon, Volume I, p. 239.



- provide some place for us to spend the winter where we may be useful.
- 16 Camped on Snake river. Frid.—Camped this evening on the bed of a stream no running water, though plenty that is standing. E. has taken cold—settled in her limbs—which renders it tedious for her to ride—my shoulder gaining. Sat. rode until 9 this morning before breakfast—good water. E. better able to ride than yesterday.—Sab.—Camped this evening on Snake river or near it, on the opposite side of the river are what are called the Shoots. They are large springs of water shooting out of the rock 50 or 60 ft above the river. A man some years since, in attempting to swim across the river to look at this scene was drowned. Mr. Ermitinger sent to Salmon falls 3 or 4 miles distant and purchased fresh Salmon. Mon. after riding about one hour we came to the falls—here we got a supply of fish to last us to Ft Boysa [Boise.] Here the Indians have built three houses of willows and grass. These are not perpendicular falls, but rapids where they catch fish (which run up into places made for the purpose, with stones) with their hands—Stopped for our breakfast on Snake river, under the shade of cedars, very warm, no grass. horses standing much of the time without attempting to find anything to eat. In packing this morning, Mr. E told us to prepare our packs for crossing the river—rode only one hour before we came to the crossing place. This is rather a dangerous place, the bottom of the river here is gravel and lies like snow drifts—below these piles there would be deep holes, where a horse must swim or drown if he should get into them. The water was very clear, all arrived safe—no accident unfavorable—Stopped soon for breakfast. Mr. Ermitinger's hunter shot a duck & a goose, gave the goose to us and Mr. Griffin—Camped on standing water this evening—grass very dry, had some trouble with fire—used my arm rather too much today.
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- 21 Wednes. Today we have traveled without any road, or trail, drove late, passed the boiling springs today, the water boiled up in several places I should judge it was boiling hot. I had but little time to examine them.—Thurs. We have found more vegetation in the valley of the Boysa river than usual—camped on its bank, expect to reach the fort tomorrow. I have had some pain for several days this
- 22
- 23 originates from a foul stomach.—Friday this day proceeded onwards towards the Fort, saw more cotton wood, though not except on streams—no rain—the roads very dusty—all covered over with dust and eyes filled with it—found a good place to rest our horses and ourselves. grass plenty. came in sight of the Fort between 3 & 4. Camped in a field; on a bank of the river near the fort—found the people here friendly indeed. Eliza feels almost worn out, and no wonder. But there is one consolation. The Lord designs all our troubles for his glory, and our highest good. I took cold today in



bathing, had some fever, removed my cold by sweating. Mr. Ermitinger has been exceedingly kind to us since we started (as well as before) he has acted the part of a gentleman indeed & continues to do so. He said to us—"make up your minds how much flour, and meal, fish, sugar, butter & cawesh [camas] (a kind of root that is good for food) you want, and I will supply you.— Sab. This day we spent alone—have been reading God's dealings with Israel.

25 Mon. Today Mr. Ermitinger again advised us not to make up our

26 **minds where to go** until we had seen Dr. Whitman—I told him we

27 should not.—Tues. Left Boiza about 10 o'clock for Walla Walla, camp'd on Snake river. Wednes. Left this river to see it no more. Mr. Ermitinger gave us to understand that he should use his influence to

29 get us a place for the winter with Dr. Whitman. Thurs. This evening

30 **I had a present of a beautiful pair of moccasins.** Friday. Most of the way since leaving Boiza has been through a sandy plain, some

31 small hills, increase of vegetation—dusty roads. Sat. more hills to-day—a shower stopped us a few minutes today—drove late camp'd on the grand round as it is call'd, a small river. Mr. Griffin tried to

Mond employ a guide here to conduct him to Mr. Spauldings. Monday 2d

Sept. 2 Sept. Commenced traveling through the Blue Mountains. These are principally covered with pine rained some last night. made six hours march yesterday and today about 4 hours before noon. before stopping at noon we descended a long hill off the Blue Mountains 2 or 3 miles long found an encampment of Indians—heard by them that Dr. Whitman was not at home—was at Mr. Spauldings. They expected him next Thursday—we camped this evening in a place where we found but little water and less grass. The fire ran over the whole plain nearly, and left none for our horses. Near us is a little mound about 3 feet above the level of the ground, of a kind of turf or mud covered with grass, out of the top of this, the water was constantly boiling—

4 flavor rather sulphurous.—Wednes. Took breakfast this morning before starting, after 5 or 6 hours we reached the Walla Walla river and stopped to rest. I omitted to notice that Mr. Griffin left us this morning for Mr. Spauldings without a guide. In 3 or 4 hours we reached the Fort—This was the end of our journey as anticipated when we left Oberlin. We were welcomely received by Mr. Pomber [Pambrun] the keeper of the fort. This man has a wife and 6 children. He has raised some vegetables this season. He had quite a patch of potatoes— 2 or 3 acres, had some cabbages and mellons, beets, turnips, fowls, bread, salt and fresh salmon, and in fact everything of living kind which we want. Had the privilege of sitting down in a house which was quite comfortably done off—eat at a table, sit upon chairs, and sleep in a house, which were refreshing and as you may judge quite acceptable after a journey of 4 months. This Fort is

9 situated upon the Columbia river. Here is the point where we first saw the river. Monday, we spent our time pleasantly in many respects from the time of our arrival until the present. Mr. Pomber, we understood by Mr. Ermitinger had concluded to give us an invitation to spend the winter with him and busy ourselves by teaching his children, and the like, if we dont find an opportunity to spend the winter with Dr. Whitman. This he has done for our accommodation and not for his convenience. This morning Mr. Smith and Mr. Rogers (missionaries) arrived and the man that helped us from the States. He told us that Mr. Griffin arrived at Dr. Whitman's on Wednesday last. He drove very fast in order to get there before we should. When he arrived he found the family were not at home, and only stayed 3 or 4 hours—hired a pilot—started for Mr. Spauldings with the intention of arriving there before they left. But it proved otherwise. Dr. Whitman and his wife, Mr. Hall the printer from Sandwich Islands and his wife arrived here soon after noon. They had been here but a few hours before the way was prepared for us to go home with them and spend the winter. They wanted joiner work, and such other things as I could do. Here I cannot help mentioning the providence of God in answering our prayer. We have prayed to God in our trouble that he would provide some place for us to spend the winter where we might be useful. I rejoice that we did not engage to go down to the Willamit for evidently the Lord has sent us here. Through all our trials I cannot say that I have ever regretted that we have undertaken this journey. Though I do regret that we started as we did, or in the way we did. I have always felt as I did before starting; the consciousness that the Lord had sent us.—Tuesday—I 10 this morning closed a bargain with Dr. Whitman and made arrangements to go home with him today. Mr. Ermitinger had a long talk with him and all the other missionaries, that were here. — — — Brother Geger [Geiger]<sup>1</sup> & Mr. Johnson<sup>2</sup> called on Dr. Whitman (as they came on before us from Ft Hall) and helped to pave the way that led us to the harbor we are in this fall. Left the Fort in company with Dr. Whitman & his wife on horseback. (had two horses of Mr. Pomber) about one o'clock. We lingered along some when first setting out on account of Mrs. Hall, she is not able to ride on horse back—having been diseased for years with a spinal affection, and came here for the purpose of recovering her health. 3 men took a canoe, and are going up the Walla Walla river with her. We rode on after leaving them tolerably fast—arrived at home before sunset 25 miles. You can judge something of Eliza's health and strength if

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1 William Geiger who became a permanent settler of Oregon.

2 D. G. Johnson who left soon for the Hawaiian Islands.

she is able after riding almost constantly for 4 months, to get on to a Sept 3 horse & ride 25 miles in less than half a day—Thurs. We found Dr. Whitman in comfortable circumstances. He has raised about 100 bushels of corn, rising of a 1000 bushels of potatoes as he thinks, though they are not yet dug—some wheat—peas, beans—beets, carrots—turnips—squashes—melons—onions—broom corn—hops—summer and winter squashes—pumpkins &c. He has provisions enough for his family for the year and some to spare to the Indians to pay them for their labor. I commenced preparing a bench and tools to work with. Dr. W. had a house built of brick, or dobies as they are called, made of clay without burning. This they wanted to have finished, as soon as possible—as Mr. Hall is to occupy it this winter. He had good pine timber seasoned and piled up in house ready to finish it off, and all the materials to do it with. All that was lacking was a joiner. I commenced working at one of the rooms (the one designed for the parlor) about two weeks ago, and finished it today. My arm has recovered nearly its usual strength. Eliza's health is good—I [never?] knew it better. She is now assisting Mrs. Whitman in her household affairs. Mrs. W. is teaching the Indian children. The school commenced since we came here. They have delayed the school for want of a Book. They have now acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to teach and communicate religious instruction on the Sabbath. They have now quite a large school—children quite interested to learn. The collection for a school is yet a novelty with them—How long they will continue to be as deeply interested, no one knows. Mr. Ermitinger called here on his return to Ft Hall. Just before he arrived a Lawyer by the name of Farnam arrived from the States to our great surprise. He had started with quite a company, but they had been falling off, one after another until there [were?] only about half a dozen when they arrived here. Mr. Griffin's horses were found. It is said they were stolen by the Indians and Mr. Walker at Ft Hall gave one of them for finding the other two. We have found friends as you will judge from what I have said—are surrounded by those that appear like brothers and sisters. We expect in a few days to commence keeping house. What the Lord is going to do with us we don't know, but it is enough for us to know what he is now doing with us. I hope we may always trust in him—and I am sure he will always direct our steps—If any are expecting to come to this region as missionaries—it is well that they should be informed in relation to some facts of which we have been ignorant. There are no establishments for raising grain and other provisions in this region except at Colville [Colville?] 300 miles above here—Van Cover rising of 200 miles below, and at the Willamit about 300 miles below. At Colville they don't spare their provisions except it is to accommodate. If the mis-

sionaries have to purchase flour at Walla Walla they have to pay between 20 or 25 dollars pr barrel, including all expenses of transportation &c (as nothing is raised here at all for sale, even their supplies most of them are brought from other places.) The missionaries have none for sale. At Van Cover they are cultivating new land and raising large crops—but are buying grain rather than selling I suppose for the sake of accommodation—they would spare some, though they prefer not to do it. It will be necessary for missionaries who are coming out to support themselves—to come prepared to purchase their year's provisions—their farming utensils—such as plough irons—hoes—axes and such other tools as are necessary for tilling the ground and making their houses. It is also necessary to have knives, blankets, ammunition &c to some extent in order to trade with the Indians. I hope to be able to give more facts in relation to the prospects of self supporting missions in my next, which will probably arrive about 3 months later than this. Mr. Griffin is now at Mr. Spaulding's about 125 miles from here. He has the promise of some blacksmith work—will probably find enough to support him through the winter. Where he will locate himself is not known at present. There are many things I might add to our journal which would be interesting, but must close here for want of time.

From your children

ASAHEL & ELIZA MUNGER.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS.

*Did Sir Francis Drake Land on Any Part of the Oregon Coast?* By R. M. BRERETON, C. E. (Portland, Oregon: The J. K. Gill Company.)

The author had met the query stated in the title of this very attractive brochure and proceeded in a thoroughly effective and scholarly manner to answer it. The "co-temporary recorders" of Drake's expedition to the Pacific Coast were carefully ascertained, and the passages from their writings covering Drake's movements on this coast excerpted. Lest he might not have succeeded in finding all of the contemporary sources recourse was had to the expressions on the matter in hand by later reliable historians who might possibly have had access to original sources no longer available to him. The extracts from both the primary and the secondary sources are reproduced, also fac similes of three early maps of Drake's route on this coast. The author's conclusion, that he is "unable to find any reliable evidence" "from a careful study" of these extracts "to show that Drake ever landed anywhere on the Oregon coast," will be accepted by all.

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The July number of the "Steel Points," in anticipation of the expedition of the Mountaineers' Club of Seattle into the Olympic region, is devoted mainly to setting forth what had up to that date been ascertained of the Olympics. In addition to articles on the "Names in the Olympic Region" and the ascents of Mount Olympus there is an exhaustive paper by Professor L. F. Henderson on the flora of the region. Mr. George H. Himes contributes papers on the "Discovery of Pacific Coast Glaciers" and on "Very Early Ascents" of Washington peaks.

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*Samuel Freeman Miller.* By CHARLES NOBLE GREGORY. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH.] (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1907. pp. XII, 217.)

This compact and very readable sketch of the services and personality of Associate Justice Miller gives what is worth most to know of



its subject. The author is perfectly frank. He takes us in behind the curtains and we are enabled to see what influences secured an appointment to the bench of the United States Supreme Court in 1862; what degree of fitness Judge Miller had for his position; and how with his personality and point of view and the cast of his thought he wrought with his associates in determining the trend of the Supreme Court's decisions. The subject was a large one to handle in two hundred pages, but the author has made excellent use of the space he did take.

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*Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon.* By FREDERICK V. HOLMAN. Director of the Oregon Pioneer Association and of the Oregon Historical Society. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company.)

This is an extended argument to establish two propositions: That Dr. John McLoughlin treated the early settlers in Oregon with humanity and Christian kindness; and that some of the settlers afterwards ill requited his kindness by speaking ill of his treatment and particularly in exerting themselves to deprive him of his rightful holdings under the Government of the United States. Mr. Holman has put the case strongly, and it seems hardly possible that any unbiased reader should lay down the book without the feeling that both propositions are amply sustained by the facts.

In his preface the author says: "The one great theme of the pioneers was and still is Dr. McLoughlin and his humanity." This sentiment of the pioneers is abundantly attested by many of their public utterances. The community, too, seems to have accepted this estimate of Dr. McLoughlin as final, being the estimate of those who were best qualified to judge. This means that the people of Oregon had already accepted as true the first proposition of this book, and needed no proof of it.

The fact that the first proposition was thus generally and cordially accepted would seem to have rendered unnecessary any extended argument on the second. The late comer to Oregon who has heard from the first and always the name of Dr. McLoughlin mentioned only with affection and all but reverence cannot but regret that the author did not follow more closely the plan laid down in the first sentence of his preface and give us in fact "a plain and simple narrative of Dr. John McLoughlin and of his noble career in the early history of Oregon." There is room in the story of Oregon's origin for just such a narrative of the life of this truly noble man, and no one is better furnished for the writing of it than the author of this volume.

J. R. WILSON.

*Trade and Currency in Early Oregon.* A study in the commercial and monetary history of the Pacific Northwest. By JAMES HENRY GILBERT, Ph. D. Published as one of the Studies in History Economics and Public Law under the Editorship of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.

Of special value to those interested in Pacific Coast history is the monograph on Trade and Currency in Early Oregon, prepared as a doctor's thesis by James Henry Gilbert and edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. The monograph is a good representative of the kind of work that may be expected to appear with the collection and classification of historical material which has been going on for some time with such good success in Oregon.

Mr. Gilbert treats the two subjects of Trade and Currency together since a knowledge of the currency is dependent on an understanding of the trade relations at various times. A history of the trade of early Oregon would have required fuller treatment had it been the main subject of a thesis, but Mr. Gilbert has subordinated it to his theme and thus avoided the danger of a double subject, and the necessity of fuller treatment.

The thesis is divided into four chapters, each of which deals with one of four periods. The first chapter treats of the fur trade and its development into a monopoly under the Hudson's Bay Company, with the beaver skin as the medium of exchange. The second chapter describes the development of agriculture and the use of wheat as a medium of exchange. The third chapter deals with the changes that followed the discovery of gold in California when the gold dust became a currency and was coined into Beaver Money in Oregon. The fourth chapter covers the period of the Civil War when the government sought to put the legal tenders into circulation.

Mr. Gilbert's treatment of his subject shows diligence in his search of material, thoughtful interpretation of his facts and logical construction into a thesis. His language is clear and fitted to the treatment of such a subject. In reading the thesis one gets a good idea of the stages of development of trade. The isolated condition of the early American settlers is well brought out and their dependence upon the Hudson's Bay Company both in selling and buying, as well as the relief that came with the discovery of gold in California. The use of beaver skins, wheat and store orders are properly distinguished as only a medium of exchange and not money in the full sense of the term. The early currency legislation is interesting and the whole experience of this isolated and primitive community struggling with currency problems illustrates principles in the development of money. It is

especially interesting to note that both in custom and legislation the people of early Oregon favored and understood metallic currency even before the discovery of gold made its possession possible in any great quantity. This discovery, however, fixed the habit and lays the basis for that opposition to the legal tenders which makes such an interesting chapter in the monetary history of the whole coast. The opposition to the greenbacks is well analyzed, although it would seem to the reviewer that the latter part of the thesis should have received a fuller treatment, relative to the earlier part. It would, perhaps, lie beyond the scope of the thesis, but the reader cannot help desiring to know the attitude of the Oregon population to the national bank notes when they made their appearance. It would be interesting also to know more fully the influence of the attitude of the Pacific Coast in favor of the specific contract on the development of that idea in national monetary legislation. The use of the gold slug as a medium of exchange for large transactions is not noted.

The diagrams which are used to show the comparative fluctuations of legal tender notes in Oregon and New York City and the comparative table of prices of commodities to show that prices in Oregon did not follow the legal tender fluctuations of the east are instructive and interesting.

JAMES R. ROBERTSON.

Berkeley, California.

## ACCESSIONS.

### BOOKS.

Polk, R. L. & Co.'s Directory of Baker City, Sumpter, Huntington, La Grande, Union, Pendleton, No. 2, 1903. 8vo. 538 pp.

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Lucas, Robert, Life of. Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, 1907. Cloth. 8vo. Portraits. 356 pp. Presented by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, Oregon City.

Kansas, Historical Collections of. Vol. IX, 1905-1906. Cloth. 8vo. Portraits, maps, plates. 654 pp.

Maine, Collections of Historical Society. Documentary History, Vol. X. Baxter Manuscripts. 8vo, cloth. 498 pp.

Congress, Official Directory of. Second Edition. Corrections to January 9, 1907. Cloth. Illustrated. Plate. Cloth. 8vo. 426 pp.

Beyond the Mississippi; from the Great River to the Great Ocean. Life and Adventure on the Prairie, Mountains, and Pacific Coast. 1857-1867. By Albert D. Richardson, correspondent of the New York Tribune during the Civil War. Copiously Illustrated. American Pub. Co., Hartford, Conn., 1867. 8vo. Cloth. 572 pp. Presented by Dr. William B. Knapp, Portland. Autograph of Isaac Knapp, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Four Years in a Government Exploring Expedition to the Islands of the Pacific, Northwest Coast of America, Etc. By Lieutenant Colvocoresses, U. S. Navy, an officer of the expedition. New York, 1852.

River of the West: Life and Adventure in the Rocky Mountains and Oregon, embracing Events in the Life-time of a Mountainman and Pioneer. By Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor. Illustrated. 8vo, sheep. 602 pp.

Our New West. Records of Travel between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean, with Details of the Wonderful Natural Scenery, Agriculture, Mines, Business, Social Life, Progress, Prospects, Etc. By Samuel Bowles, of the Republican, Springfield, Mass. Hartford Pub Co., 1870. 8vo, cloth. Map, portraits, 12 full-page illustrations.

Travels through the United States of North America, the Country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797, with an Authentic Account of Lower Canada. By the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt. London: Printed for R. Phillips, No. 71 St. Paul's Church Yard; Sold by T. Hurst and J. Wallis, Paternoster-Row,

and by Carpenter and Co., 1799. Quarto. Half calf, marbled paper sides—an excellent and well preserved specimen of the art of book-making in vogue one hundred years ago. Translated from the French by H. Neuman. Map to illustrate Author's Travels. 642 pp. with index in addition.

Oregon State Board of Horticulture, Second Annual Report of, to the Legislative Assembly, 17th Regular Session, 1893. 8vo. Cloth. Illustrated. 349 pp. (2 copies.)

Catalogue of Scarce American and Miscellaneous Books. By Edward W. Nash, 1872-1877, 120 Nassau Street, N. Y. Bound in same volume, "Giblets of History and Tidbits of America," Etc., by Charles L. Woodward, 78 Nassau Street, N. Y.

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Over the Range to the Golden Gate. A Complete Tourist's Guide to Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, Puget Sound and the Great Northwest. By Stanley Wood. Revised to 1904 by C. E. Hooper. Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., Publishers, 1906. 8vo. Cloth. Illustrated. 340 pp.

Croft's Transcontinental Tourist's Guide. Geo. A. Croft, Publisher, New York, 1872. Vol. 4. 12mo. Cloth. Illus. 224 pp. Maps.  
— Vol. 6. Quarto, cloth. 158 pp. Illus. Maps.

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Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, State of Oregon, to the Legislative Assembly, 19th Regular Session, December 31, 1895-December 31, 1896. 8vo. Cloth. 338 pp. Appendix, 82 pp., giving list of officers of Territory and State of Oregon from 1843 to 1897.

American First Class Book, The, or Exercises in Reading and Recitation; selected principally from modern authors of Great Britain and America, and designed for the use of the Highest Class in Publick and Private Schools. By John Pierpont, Minister of Hollis-Street Church, Boston. Boston: 1823. 12mo, sheep. 480 pp. Much worn. Title page frayed. (Brought to Oregon in 1852, by Mrs. Anna Pentland Brooks, The Dalles, Oregon, by whom it was presented.)



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Bigelow Carpet Co., History of. Also Brief History of Carpet Making. By Bigelow Carpet Co., Fifth Avenue, New York, 1907. 8vo. boards. 78 pp.

Commercial Club, Portland, Oregon, The. Articles of Incorporation, List of Members, and House Rules. 16mo. Boards. 29 pp.

Walker, Gov. R. J., Reminiscences of, with the True Story of the Rescue of Kansas from Slavery. By Geo. W. Brown, M. D., Honorary Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society of Kansas. Rockford, Ill.: Printed and Published by the Author, 1902. Presented by Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson, Lawrence, Kansas.

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Prairie Traveler, The. A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions, with Maps, Illustrations and Itineraries of the Principal Routes between the Mississippi and the Pacific. By Randolph B. Marey, Captain U. S. Army. Published by Authority of the War Department. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859. 12mo. 340 pp.

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Statistician, Annual, 1877. San Francisco: L. P. McCarthy, Publisher, 1877. 8vo, cloth. 468 pp.

— 1878. San Francisco: L. P. McCarthy, Publisher. 12mo, cloth. 592 pp. (Presented by Raleigh Stott, Portland.)

— 1879. San Francisco: L. P. McCarthy, Publisher. 12mo, cloth. 600 pp.

— and Economist, 1889. San Francisco: L. P. McCarthy, Publisher. 12mo, cloth. 672 pp.

Boston Almanac, The, for 1849. By S. N. Dickinson. 16mo, cloth. 216 pp. Map of Boston and suburbs. Contains table of Boston weather for 1848; comparisons of Boston and Florida weather for 1847; brief history of the public schools of Boston; Business Directory of Boston; list of Boston newspapers. (Brought to Oregon in 1849, by Colburn Barrell, a grand-nephew of Joseph Barrell, a Boston merchant, who was a leading character in organizing the company which

chartered the ship *Columbia* at Boston in 1787 to make a commercial voyage to China, and which was sailed into the Columbia River on May 11, 1792, by Captain Robert Gray.)

Almanacs—Oregon, 1848. Printed at Spectator Office, Oregon City, by W. P. Hudson. 12mo. 24 pp.

— Oregon and Washington, 1856, 1857, 1862, 1863. Compiled and published by S. J. McCormick. Franklin Bookstore, Portland. All 12mo.

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Horn's Overland Guide from the U. S. Indian Sub-Agency, Council Bluffs, on the Missouri River, to the City of Sacramento, in California, containing a Table of Distances, and showing all the Rivers, Creeks, Lakes, Springs, Mountains, Hills, Camping-Places, and other Prominent Objects, with Remarks on the Country, Roads, Timbers, Grasses, Curiosities, Etc., the entire Route having been tracked by a Road-Measurer, and the Distances from place to place, and from the Missouri River, accurately ascertained. By Hosea B. Horn. New York: Published by J. H. Colton, No. 86 Cedar Street, 1852. 16mo, cloth. 108 pp. The map which originally accompanied this publication is missing. (Found in an old building belonging to the Meade Estate, corner of Fifth and Columbia streets, Portland, in 1898, by D. N. Byerlee, Hood River, Oregon, by whom it was presented.)

Telephone Directory, Pacific States, for March, 1899, embracing the States of California, Oregon and Washington. Issued from Telephone Office, San Francisco. 8vo, canvas. 494 pp.

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New York at the Lewis and Clark Exposition, Portland, Oregon, June 1-Oct. 15, 1905. By Samuel B. Ward, Clarence Luce, Harry D.

Williams, Pratt A. Brown, Henry Altman, and Charles R. Huntley, New York State Commissioners. Albany, N. Y.: Bradow Printing Company, State Legislative Printers, 1906. 8vo, buckram back, paper sides. 127 pp. Portraits of Commissioners and illustrations of N. Y. State Building and other features of interest. (Presented by Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, Oregon City.)

General Circular, A, to all Persons of Good Moral Character, who wish to Emigrate to the Oregon Territory, embracing some account of the character and advantages of the country; the Right and the Means and Operations by which it is to be Settled, and all Necessary Directions for becoming an Emigrant. By Hall J. Kelley, Agent. By order of the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory. Instituted in Boston, A. D. 1820. Charlestown: Printed by William W. Wheildon. R. P. & C. Williams, Boston, 1831. 8vo, boards. 28 pp. Contains diagram of a plat of land laid out in 40-acre tracts between the "Multnomah and Columbia Rivers." Part of this tract is believed to be within the present city limits of Portland.

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Sangamon County, Illinois, History of the Early Settlers of. "Centennial Record." By John Carroll Power, assisted by his wife, Mrs. S. A. Power. Under the Auspices of the Old Settlers' Society. Springfield: Edwin A. Wilson & Co., 1876. 8vo, cloth. 797 pp. Presented by Mrs. Byron Z. Holmes, Portland, whose father and uncle, Allen and Simeon Francis, were residents of that county for many years before coming to the Pacific Coast.

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Benton, Thomas H., Speech of, on Oregon Question, delivered in the U. S. Senate May 22, 25, and 28, 1846. Washington: Printed at the Office of Blair and Rives, 1846. 8vo. 40 pp.

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Browne, J. Ross, Report of, as Special Agent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, upon Indian Affairs in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, dated Nov. 17, 1857. 8vo. 48 pp.

Climates of the Northwest, being Condensed Notes of a Lecture by Hon. Selucius Garfielde, Delegate in Congress from Washington Territory, delivered in Philadelphia in 1872. 8vo. 20 pp. Cover.

Lane, Joseph, Speech of, on the Admission of Kansas, in the U. S. House of Representatives, March 27, 1858. 8vo. 8 pp.

Constitution for the State of Oregon, passed by the Convention, Sept. 18, 1857. 8vo. 24 pp. (This is a copy of the proposed constitution that was submitted to the people of Oregon for acceptance or rejection on November 9, 1857. Two copies.)

Washington Territory, Journal of the Council during the Second Session of the Legislative Assembly beginning at Olympia Dec. 4, 1854. Olympia: George B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855. 8vo. 158 pp. and cover. (Bears upon the cover the handwriting of Seth Catlin, who was President of the Council at the time. Presented by Adam Catlin, a son of Seth Catlin.)

— Rules and Orders of the House of Representatives of, 1854-55. Olympia: J. W. Wiley, Public Printer, 1854. 16mo. 104 pp. (In addition to the Rules and Orders, contains Constitution of United States, Organic Act of Washington Territory, Treaty with Great Britain, June 15, 1846, Donation Land Law, approved Sept. 27, 1850, Notice to Settlers of April 30, 1853, extending provisions of law to Dec. 1, 1855, Amendment to Act creating office of Surveyor-General, Feb. 14, 1853, Amendment to Act July 17, 1854, Circular to land officers from General Land Office, August 28, 1854, and Ordinance of 1787.)

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Knights of Pythias, Report of Fraternal Correspondent of the Grand Lodge, held at Portland, October 13-14, 1903. 8vo. 42 pp.

Standard Oil. Sketch of the operations of the Standard Oil Company, by Harold J. Howland. Illus. 8vo. 20 pp. and cover.

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Improved Order of Red Men, Record of the Great Council of, in the United States, Atlanta, Ga., September, 1892. Vol. 9, No. 1. Camden, N. J., 1892. (Presented by Frank C. Baker, Portland.)

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OF THE

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